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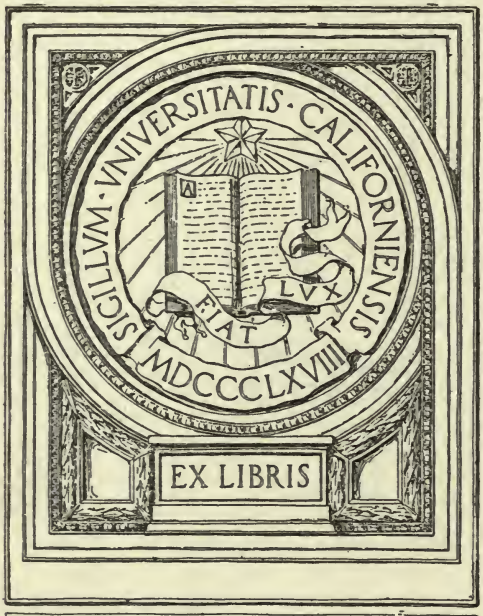
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BUFFALO

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME TWENTY-FIVE

Edited by FRANK H. SEVERANCE

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THE LINCOLN STATUE, CENTRAL COURT OF THE HISTORICAL BUILDING.—See p. 257.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XXV

THE BOOK OF THE MUSEUM

EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
Published by the
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1921

F129
B8B85
v.25

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THE TRIBUNE PUBLISHING COMPANY
PRINTERS AND BINDERS
MEADVILLE, PA.

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* Died May 16, 1921. No successor elected in 1921.

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LIST OF THE
PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME

Millard Fillmore,	1862 to 1867
Henry W. Rogers,	1868
Rev. Albert T. Chester, D. D.,	1869
Orsamus H. Marshall,	1870
Hon. Nathan K. Hall,	1871
William H. Greene,	1872
Orlando Allen,	1873
Oliver G. Steele,	1874
Hon. James Sheldon,	1875 and 1886
William C. Bryant,	1876
Capt. E. P. Dorr,	1877
Hon. William P. Letchworth,	1878
William H. H. Newman,	1879 and 1885
Hon. Elias S. Hawley,	1880
Hon. James M. Smith,	1881
William Hodge,	1882
William Dana Fobes,	1883 and 1884
Emmor Haines,	1887
James Tillinghast,	1888
William K. Allen,	1889
George S. Hazard,	1890 and 1892
Joseph C. Greene, M. D.	1891
Julius H. Dawes,	1893
Andrew Langdon,	1894 to 1909
Hon. Henry W. Hill,	1910 —

All of the above except the present incumbent are deceased.

PREFACE

IN devoting the larger part of this volume of its Publications to its Museum, and in telling the story of some articles in it, The Buffalo Historical Society is merely saying a word or so regarding that feature of its establishment by which it is best known to the local public. Thousands stroll through the rooms and galleries of the Museum, who never use the Society's library, and who, not being members of the institution, do not share in the annual programme of entertainments, nor do they receive the volumes which the Society gives to all on its membership lists. It is, beyond question, by the Museum that we are best known in the home community. But many visitors here, as in all museums, look with unseeing eyes. It is no reflection on the casual visitor, to say that the significance of some article of historic association is not always apparent to him. The thing itself rarely tells its own story. To help in such telling, is the object of the museum sketches in this book; and since these Publications are freely available to the general public, in our libraries and schools, it is our hope that a greater knowledge of the Museum may bring a still greater interest. The Museum is often thronged, and all who come are welcome.

It will, we apprehend, be something of a revelation, even to many who have thought they knew this Museum well, to discover how much of history, and what important history, attaches to many of the relics gathered here. We have told the "story" of but a score or so. Many times that number might be written of with equal interest. Here is proof, we submit, that an historical muse-

um may teach history, as well, shall we say, as a library or a lecturer.

The editor is grateful, and the Society is to be congratulated, because of the help he received in the preparation of these sketches, from the pens of able and accomplished writers, most of them now or formerly resident in Buffalo. It is a list of contributors of which any periodical might be proud. They have made this volume unique among the publications of historical societies; nor is there any loss of real value to the student, because the several episodes have been presented with some grace and attractiveness of style. To Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Camehl, Col. Charles O. Shepard, William W. Saperston, Henry R. Howland, Hamilton Ward and Charles E. Congdon, the editor returns grateful acknowledgement.

F. H. S.

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THE MUSEUM
OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE MUSEUM OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Buffalo Historical Society is best known, outside of Buffalo, through its historical publications.

It is best known, in Buffalo, for its fine building and museum.

The Historical Building contains, besides a museum, a library of some 40,000 volumes, many of them rare and all free to the public; yet thousands visit the museum who never set foot in the library.

This being the case—that the institution is known to so many chiefly through its museum—it is thought advisable to devote this volume, or a part of it, to the museum itself.

The museum of the Buffalo Historical Society is unique. It is not like any other. It is very far from being a model. It has grown almost wholly by gift, and it has been growing in that way since 1862.

In the past sixty years the people of Buffalo—and some not of Buffalo—have turned over to the keeping of the Society many things which illustrate certain phases in the evolution of the city and of Western New York. There are many relics which recall important periods in the history of the city. Sometimes a citizen has given a good deal of time and money to the forming of a collection along some definite line. It has been his pleasure, his hobby. Then, tiring of it, or realizing that more people can see and enjoy his collection in a public museum than if kept in his own house, he offers it to the Historical Society, and if the collection is suitable the Society adds it to its museum.

Numerous other collections have come to the Society which are not at all local in their interest. Returning

travelers often bring souvenirs of value. Soldiers in various wars gather relics of many kinds. Some articles were salvaged from the Pan-American Exposition, with which the home of the Society will probably always be associated in the public mind.

Growing in this way, year after year, there has developed here a collection for which no extravagant claims are made, but which proves of interest to very many visitors. It is also put to use by the schools of Buffalo, and this use may very well be extended, for some of the collections supply admirable object lessons in many a field of study.

It would have a certain interest, if we could list here the names and gifts of all who have shared in creating this museum, but that would take more pages than we can give to it. We print however a list of the donors of the principal collections which have been received, with a very brief indication of the character of the articles.

ATKINS, BARTON. Articles gathered in Alaska while he was residing at Sitka as United States Marshal.

AUMAN, (*Gen.*) WM. Articles of native use and wear in the Philippines; especially, a collection of head-wear from Pacific islands.

BARRETT, (*Mrs.*) WILLIAM. The collection of arms, weapons and implements from Africa which used to be displayed on the walls of Dr. Barrett's dental office in Franklin street.

BARTLETT, (*Dr.*) G. HUNTER. Souvenirs of the Civil War and miscellaneous relics.

BEAN, F. A., Fort Wayne, Ind. Civil War souvenirs.

BOLEN, J. A., Springfield, Mass. Medals.

BROWN, HAROLD C. Articles from East Africa.

BUFFALO POTTERY. Collection of Blue Willow, Deldare and other wares made at the Buffalo Pottery.

CHURCH, ALVA. Relics and souvenirs of Andersonville prison.

COCHRANE, (*Gen.*) JOHN, New York. Medals.

COTTIER, (*Mrs.*) KATE. Chinese and antique musical instruments.

COTTIER, WM. H. Indian relics, weapons, garments, utensils, etc., from the West and Southwest. A large and valuable collection.

CRAWFORD, WM. J. Souvenirs of the Washington family.

DICKINSON (*Miss*) E. H. and MISS WALBRIDGE. Indian and African (Bontoc) baskets, etc.

DOBBINS, CHAS. W. Indian relics of the Niagara region.

DOBBINS, J. R., San Gabriel, Cal., and his sister, (*Mrs.*) JAMES P. WHITE, children of Capt. D. P. Dobbins. Souvenirs of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, relics of the Battle of Lake Erie, of the flagships LAWRENCE and NIAGARA, etc.

FERRIS. GEO. D. Articles of early days associated with his father, Chas. D. Ferris of Buffalo, relics of his service in the army of Texas, etc.

FRANCIS, JULIUS E. Lincoln and Civil War relics; including a bronze statue of Lincoln received through the Lincoln Birthday Association, founded by Mr. Francis.

FRENCH, THOS. B. Souvenirs of the old Volunteer Fire Department of Buffalo. This collection has been added to by others.

GALPIN, WM. A. Antiques and old-time articles of many kinds, historical engravings, etc. Mr. Galpin has been the largest contributor to the museum in recent years.

G. A. R. POSTS OF BUFFALO. A large case of Civil War relics; regimental colors and other souvenirs.

GRAVES, (*Gen.*) JOHN C. Numerous plaster busts of Buffalo citizens, modeled by Mrs. John C. Graves.

GREENE, (*Dr.*) JOS. C. Egyptian, Syrian and Assyrian antiquities and casts. A notable collection.

HAYWARD, JOHN A., Washington. Coins, badges and Civil War relics.

HULETT, (*Hon.*) THOS. G., Niagara Falls. Miscellaneous articles of early days on the Niagara Frontier.

JAMES, (*Dr.*) F. H. Medals, coins and tokens. A large and valuable collection.

JORDAN, (*Capt.*) L. W. Articles from the Philippines.

KETCHUM, (*Dr.*) JOHN. War relics and souvenirs of early Buffalo.

KINGSLEY, MAURICE, New Haven, Conn. Indian relics from Tennessee.

LANGDON, ANDREW. Bronze art work, and various miscellaneous gifts. The bronze doors of the north entrance to the Historical Building, the bronze statue of David in the

Park, the antique Italian bronze candelabra in the building, are examples of Mr. Langdon's numerous gifts.

McKay, (*Mrs.*) A. T. Turkish and Chinese articles, Oriental jewelry, etc.

Lord, (*Rev.*) John C., estate of. Miscellaneous relics, busts, pictures, etc.

Madison, (*Miss*) Sarah M., estate of. Numerous articles formerly belonging to Hon. and Mrs. John T. Hudson, early residents of Buffalo.

Manchester, (*Miss*) Grace. Many old-time articles of home use and wear, souvenirs of travel, etc.

Menge, Edward R. The Tiphaine & Menge collection of local relics and pictures.

Nuno, James F. Chinese and German coins.

Otis, H. H., estate of. Miscellaneous old-time articles, coins and obsolete paper money.

Park, (*Dr.*) Roswell, estate of. Medals and miscellaneous relics.

Perrine, Carleton R. Collection of coins.

Porter, (*Hon.*) Peter A. Indian relics, pottery, weapons, pioneer articles, etc.

Porter, V. M., Niagara Falls. Surveying instruments, draughting instruments, etc., used by Judge Augustus Porter in original surveys of Western New York; and Indian relics, etc.

Pratt, Frederick L. Indian baskets, historical furniture.

Remington, Cyrus K. Souvenirs of early wars on the Niagara Frontier.

Rich, Andrew J. Collection of badges.

Richmond, A. J., Canajoharie. Indian relics from the Mohawk valley.

Richmond, (*Mrs.*) Jewett M. Numerous old-time articles.

Root, (*Brig. Gen.*) Adrian R. Civil War relics.

Sage, John B. Military accoutrements, and articles pertaining to the Union Continentals of Buffalo.

Schickel, (*Mrs.*) Caroline. Collection of foreign coinage, medals, tokens, etc.

Scoville, (*Hon.*) Jonathan. Indian articles, especially of Ute and Navajo makes.

Sheldon, (*Misses*) Grace and Sara P. Many souvenirs of an elder generation in Buffalo, mementos of social life, etc.

Shepard, (*Col.*) Charles O. Revolutionary relics; Japanese

and Chinese furniture and art work, weapons, etc. Royal decoration.

SHIPMAN, (*Mrs.*) EMILY C., Syracuse. Coins.

SIBLEY, FRANK. Articles from Mexico and the Southwest.

SILVER, D. M. A large collection of Indian relics of Western New York.

STEVENS, (*Mrs.*) F. H. Beautiful and valuable collection of Indian baskets, especially from California and the Southwest.

SPRAGUE, CARLETON. Historic canes.

TOWNSEND, (*Mrs.*) GEORGE W. Articles from Hawaii.

WALKER, (*Mrs.*) WM. D. Articles associated with the life and work of her deceased husband, late Episcopal Bishop of Western New York.

WARREN, (*Mrs.*) EDWARD S. Old-time jewelry, wearing apparel, etc.

WILSON, (*Mrs.*) WALTER T. Oriental articles.

WINN, (*Lieut.*) JOHN. Arms, weapons and other articles.

WOOD, PERCY, London, Eng. English coins.

YOUNG, (*Mrs.*) R. D. Souvenirs and old-time articles.

To this imperfect list might be added the names of hundreds of people whose gifts to the museum can hardly be called "collections," but whose contributions, often but a single article, have historical interest and value. No note is here taken of the large collection of portraits, many of them in oil, which fill well nigh every inch of available space on our walls, and help keep alive the memory of representative men and women of an earlier Buffalo. The portrait collection is one of the choicest possessions of the Society.

Other collections have come from various sources. For instance, the greatly-treasured Civil War regimental flags. These flags have been presented by various regiments or associations, but are preserved as one collection.

From time to time it is found necessary to rearrange the collections, and to re-classify them; but the identity of all donors and donations is carefully kept.

The museum at present fills a part of the basement and first floor of the Historical Building, and all of the second floor. It includes many articles of great historic interest—things with a story, which is not always apparent to the casual visitor. The foregoing notes are designed to convey some idea of the character and scope of the collections as a whole. The following sketches give in detail the story of some of the articles—only a few of the many—which are preserved and displayed in the museum of the Buffalo Historical Society.

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A KU KLUX UNIFORM

By Elizabeth M. Howe

In a case on the upper floor of the building of the Buffalo Historical Society are to be seen certain curious articles of clothing, perhaps the only ones of their kind in existence. They constitute the uniform of a member of the Ku Klux Klan of western North Carolina, captured by Captain Albion Howe, of the Fourth Artillery, U. S. A., in the winter of 1870-71, and presented to the Historical Society by his widow in November, 1887.

The uniform consists of a domino of dark brown cotton cloth, and a head-covering, concealing the entire head and neck, of coarse red flannel. It is the work of a skilful seamstress, as the neat stitches and symmetrical buttonholes show. The nose-piece is white, and the apertures for the eyes and mouth are bound with the same color. Patches of white ornamented in red adorn the forehead and the chin, while from the temples branch two substantial horns of dark brown—altogether an awesome figure to encounter, bestride his shrouded horse, on some lonely road after nightfall.

The history of the old North State presents many interesting features. Nowhere have the characteristics of a dominant stock come more true to type through the generations, while the fabric of its history is embroidered with a series of picturesque and significant incidents. On its soil Sir Walter Raleigh established, in 1585, thirty-six years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, a colony whose disappearance is one

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of the mysteries of our early history. Seventy-five years later it became the scene of one of those adventures in perfection which recur periodically in the history of the human race. Charles II made a grant of a vast tract of land, including what is now North Carolina, to eight great English nobles—the Duke of Clarendon, Lord Shaftesbury and others of that ilk—who had been of special service to him. They proved to be men of imagination, determined not to repeat, on the great tract of virgin soil committed to their hands, the wearisome blunders into which humanity so repeatedly fell, and which, incidentally, brought such vexation to their appointed rulers. They went about their high task in no uncertain fashion. John Locke, the philosopher, a protege of Lord Shaftesbury's, and then at the heighth of his powers, was engaged to draw the "Fundamental Constitutions," and a very thorough piece of work he made of it. Power was lodged completely in the hands of the eight Lords Proprietors, who obliged themselves and their successors "perpetually" to maintain their autocracy. This benificent scheme might, of course, on occasion, be challenged, nor was Locke in any doubt as to how such trouble might begin; so since "multiplicity of comments, as well as of laws, have great inconveniences, and only serve to obscure and perplex, all manner of comments and expositions of any part of these fundamental constitutions, or any part of the common or statute law of Carolina, are absolutely prohibited." This embargo on discussion was to stand "forever." Peace and harmony having thus been assured, the Lords Proprietors leaned back complacently, and events proceeded on their appointed way.

The early colonists, who settled along the coast and followed the chief waterways inland, were a scattered assemblage of uncongenial groups—"Scotch Presbyterians, Dutch Lutherans, French Calvinists, Irish

A KU KLUX UNIFORM

WORN BY ONE OF THE KLAN IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1870. NOW IN THE MUSEUM OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Catholics, English Churchmen, Quakers and Dissenters" —men differing in social traditions and religious faith, cut off from the more thriving colonies at the north and south by swamps and forests, and from each other by their dissimilar characteristics as well as by the scantiness of the population. The colony was retarded commercially by its lack of good harbors, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century it held but five thousand souls. There were no great planters, as in Virginia and South Carolina, men of a ruling caste, competent to guide the development of a community, and accepting such service as a duty to which they were born. The laws, on the contrary, favored those ready to evade their civic responsibilities, and attracted, as was inevitable, men of that stamp from the other colonies. The social and civil organization of the community remained almost casual in its simplicity, the people lacking even the usual meeting places of a primitive community. "For long, long years there were no houses of worship," says the Rev. Dr. Hawks, in his history of North Carolina, "the first church being built in 1705," and fifteen years later the capitol city, Edenton, still contained no such edifice. It consisted, in fact, of but fifty poor cottages—"a trifling village, not worth mentioning," according to Edmund Burke. Governor Martin, the last of the royal governors, declared that there were but two schools in the entire colony. Except for the illicit trading with the New England "pirates," who came down with their sloops laden with forbidden goods, and the standing quarrel with the Lords Proprietors which at once developed, life in the early days would have been dull in Carolina. But the conditions developed self-reliant men, at once turbulent and indifferent in their relation to law and order. They would acknowledge no power not derived from themselves, and in the intervals between acute quarrels with

their overlords the tiny settlements lapsed into "their normal state of tranquil anarchy." When, in 1720, Colonel Byrd of Virginia ran the dividing line between that colony and North Carolina, he remarked upon the strong desire of the settlers along the line to be included in the latter territory, "where they pay tribute neither to God nor Cæsar." He compared its political condition to that of mediæval Italy:

> "De tributo Cæsaris nemo cogitabat;
> Omnes sunt Cæsares, nemo censum dabit."

But in the first half of the eighteenth century the scene began to change. At that time there poured into this country the great tide of Scotch-Irish immigration, which, entering chiefly by the ports of the middle states, made the frontier territory of those regions its own. Two streams met in North Carolina, one coming from Pennsylvania and the other flowing northward from South Carolina, with the result that the western part of the State became one of the great centers of this "stern and virile people, the Irish whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin." Their proved value as fighting men did much to win them a welcome.

"About this time," wrote James Logan, Penn's Secretary of the Province, "considerable numbers of good sober people came in from Ireland, who wanted to be settled. At the same time, also, it happened that we were under some apprehension from ye Northern Indians. I therefore thought it might be prudent to plant a settlement of such men as those who formerly had so bravely defended Londonderry and Inniskillen, as a frontier in case of any disturbance. These people, if kindly used," he continued, "will, I believe, be orderly, as they have hitherto been, and easily dealt with." This hope was to be but moderately justified. The newcomers seized fertile lands belonging to the Provincial

Government, on the ground that it ought not to lie fallow when so many Christians wanted it, and though they were ready to protect the older settlements from the savages, they were soon at odds with a government which gladly allowed them to bear the brunt of the Indians' attacks, but was conscientiously opposed to supplying them with arms and ammunition, and even censured them for being "rough" with the savages. Perhaps this was not the newcomers' idea of being kindly used; at any rate, the harried secretary before long was declaring that five families from Ireland gave him more trouble than fifty of any other people. In addition to their not unnatural reluctance to serving as a defenceless rampart of human flesh between the Indians and the pacifist hinterland, comfortably ensconsed by its firesides, the angry faith which they cherished speedily opened the way for conflict with established authority in the new settlement as it had in the home overseas. The Scotchmen were soon following the Appalachian foothills southward, where land was more easily obtained, and the power of civil and religious authority alien to their spirit was weaker. In North Carolina they remained for many decades as separate a group in the population as they had been in Ireland.

Roosevelt, in his "Winning of the West," says of them:

> "In this land of hills, covered by unbroken forest, they took root and flourished, stretching in a broad belt from north to south, a shield of sinewy men thrust in between the people of the seaboard and the red warriors of the wilderness. . . . . a grim, stern people, strong and simple, powerful for good and evil, swayed by gusts of stormy passion, the love of freedom rooted in their very heart's core. . . . These Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the West almost what the Puritans were in the Northeast, and more than the Cavaliers were in the South. . . . they formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the van-

guard of the army of fighting settlers, who with axe and rifle won their way from the Alleghenies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific."

History records no more important movement of population than that which brought the Scotch-Irish to these shores. The stream of immigration, once started, flowed for fifty years. It is estimated that it brought to this country over 200,000 of the Scotch-Irish and the Highland Scotch after Culloden, the sharp rise of 30,000 in the population of North Carolina between 1760 and 1764 being due to their taking possession of its frontier lands. "They were a truculent and obstinate people," continues Roosevelt, "and gloried in the warlike renown of their forefathers, the men who had followed Cromwell, and who had shared in the defense of Derry and in the victories of the Boyne and Aughrim." They were industrially skilful, and with a degree of education far above the level prevailing in the British Isles, and equalled nowhere except in New England. Most important of all, they had conceptions of social organization and of religion which were to play a master's part in their new country.

"Kinsfolk of the Covenanters, they deemed it a religious duty to interpret their own Bible, and held for a divine right the election of their own clergy. For generations their whole ecclesiastical and scholastic system had been fundamentally democratic." They brought their ministers to this country with them, and their part of North Carolina soon blossomed with churches. The sturdy circuit riders, who counted Indian fighting as part of the day's work, and were ever ready to take the field with their parishioners against the civil authorities, were reinforced, about 1755, by the Rev. Alexander Craighill, a gentleman who, in more settled regions, had been described as having "the unhappy gift of discord." The various changes of residence which this

characteristic had entailed finally brought him into Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, in the isolated region which we are considering. His previous halting place had been Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where a strange but characteristic scene was enacted. He gathered his followers together in an open field, where, with uplifted swords, they affirmed again their separation from the Crown and the English Church. But Crown and Church took little heed of Mecklenburg County, and there for many years he preached undisturbed the principles of civil and religious liberty in which he believed, and organized congregations which made history. When, twenty years later, Cornwallis called Mecklenburg the most rebellious district in America, and dubbed it "the hornets' nest," he paid a warranted tribute to the influences which had formed it.

With this addition to its population from a fighting stock North Carolina became more unruly than ever. Defiance of the government was no longer desultory and personal, but a sustained effort toward a recognized end. The first buzzing of the hornets came in the spring of 1765, when a man named Selwyn attempted a survey of a tract of land in that region to which he had laid claim. The people rose in arms, as they had done on a like occasion in Pennsylvania, and put a stop to the procedure. Bands of armed men frequently scoured the country, sometimes disguised, protecting the people in a refusal to pay taxes, or, it would sometimes seem, simply to harry the royal governor. This was established practice in North Carolina. A contemporary writer states that the people so constantly resisted and imprisoned their governors that the procedure came to be looked upon as lawful. Civil turmoil was endemic, until in the western part of the state it crystallized in the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, signed at Charlotte, the county seat, in May, 1775. Liberty Hall,

in which the signers met, was a modest counterpart of Faneuil Hall—a log building, standing on what is now Independence Square, with a market-place below and a large hall above. The legend runs that while the council was deliberating a post-rider from the north came in with the news of the battle of Lexington. The declaration that the people of Mecklenburg County were free and independent of King and Parliament was at once signed by everyone present, amid the cheers of a large crowd outside, who had ridden in from their farms to know the issue of the meeting. Declarations in neighboring counties—all of them "swarms from the hornets' nest"—followed, and through it all, with unrelenting persistence, these Scotch-Irish of the frontier urged the point so dear to their hearts. In the autumn of 1775 the men of Mecklenburg appointed delegates to a state convention to be held the following summer, instructing them, in the most positive terms, to secure the equality of all churches before the law. The amnesty which they proposed contained, indeed, certain exceptions—"idolatrous worshippers," of whom the number in North Carolina must have been small, atheists and Roman Catholics. The first were to be allowed no rights, while the two latter groups they wished excluded from public office. We must not expect too much of human nature!

It was inevitable that when war with England broke out the Scotch-Irish should at once have taken the field, often with decisive effect. The engagement of Moore's Creek, "the Concord and Lexington of the South," was fought by these men, and under Isaac Shelby, a brilliant figure of pioneer days, they won the battle of King's Mountain, which shattered the British power in the South. When, the conflict over, a State constitution was adopted, they played a leading part in moulding it, and brought about the complete separation of Church and State.

The end of the Revolution found them with their dream fulfilled. Complete religious liberty was theirs, and the civil government also embodied the principles for which they had fought so long. Yet their triumph concealed a subtle danger. The stern genius of the Scotchman had for generations flowed preponderantly in one channel—the struggle for the establishment of certain theological concepts with their concomitant expression in civil life. Upon this his imagination had fed, and through it the deep springs of his life were renewed. Theological discussion had furnished the intellectual discipline for a people. It had sharpened their wits and stiffened their will. Intense and narrow, the cooling of its fires, its mighty purpose once achieved, left outstanding the stark granitic quality of its philosophy —"a kind of intellectual glacier, an overwhelming mass of cold dogma." How was it to meet the new and elusive foes with which it had now to contend? Powerful forces of disintegration came into play. The secluded territory which had been a fortress during the period of struggle was now a pocket, in which adventuring men could not be held. The great trek westward had begun. Others sought the wider life of larger communities. There lingered in the Scotch-Irish settlements, as always happens under such conditions, at once the most shiftless and the best established elements of the community, a racial stock whose type was already firmly fixed, and which, for years to come, was to be touched but lightly by the currents of contemporary life. The pine barrens in the centre of the state cut them off from the more populous cast, with whose traditions they had so little in common, while the lack of watercourses available for commerce heightened their isolation. Other means of transportation developed very slowly, there being less than two hundred and fifty miles of railroad in the state as late as the decade preceding the Civil War.

The population of North Carolina remained one of singular racial purity, less than half of one per cent of the whites, who comprised sixty-five per cent of the whole, being of foreign birth, and less than four per cent having come even from other states. As late as 1840 North Carolina had but seven hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, with a density of population of 14.86, against 41.94 in New England, and 57.79 in the middle states. These scanty numbers were massed preponderantly near the seaboard, though even there there was not, at that time, a town of five thousand inhabitants. The estates of the large landowners lay in that region, the Scotch-Irish being, for the most part, small farmers holding about five hundred acres apiece, which they cultivated themselves—a significant difference between the two sections.

The cultural conditions were those which such an economic background produces. In these respects the western counties were in the lead. In 1752 a grant of £6,000 in the paper money of the province had been made by the royal governor and council "for endowing a public school," but the project died for lack of patrons. A century later there was still no daily newspaper in the State, and but four public libraries, with an aggregate of 2500 volumes.[1] Figures of this kind, however, may be misleading for the ante-bellum South. The school probably failed quite as much because of geographical conditions and scanty population as through indifference on the part of the people, while the private library and the private tutor were mainstays of education in that region.

Our Scotch-Irish, however, developed both types of education. In their pack-saddles, as they made their way southward from Pennsylvania, were their treasured books, and they added to their tiny collections, even

1 Massachusetts at this time had 175 such libraries.

amid the privations of pioneer life. We read of one settler expending the generous sum, for that time, of ten pounds on a single such order. As early as 1770 they applied for a charter for Queen's College, to be located at Charlotte. It was twice granted by the Legislature and as often repealed by royal edict. The founders of the proposed school were Whigs in politics and Presbyterians in religion, a combination which was anathema at a time when the Church of England alone was trusted with education. On the second refusal the applicants characteristically went ahead without any further consideration of the royal wishes, and established an institution which is flourishing today. In the middle of the eighteenth century Queen's College could boast an annual income of $4,000—no mean sum at a time when farm labor commanded forty-two cents a day, and a "female domestic" could be secured for a weekly wage of eighty-seven cents. The humanities can be well taught on little money, and people who named their children Plato and Desdemona knew their classics, at least. Mecklenburg County had at that time but 189 illiterates in its white population of over 8,000—a remarkable record! Nor did these people forget other institutions in their devotion to their own. When the State university was established, in 1789, they sent it a gift of books, having early founded a society "to encourage literature and supply the wants of the indigent." They had other claims to distinction too. The assertion that the Scotch-Irish kept the Sabbath and everything else they could lay their hands on is open to malign misinterpretation. Their gift of acquisitiveness was exercised with discretion. In one hundred years of recorded history Mecklenburg County showed no white native indicted for larceny.

Our Scotch-Irish grew and flourished, almost as unhampered as in the days of Alexander Craighill him-

self. Not until 1852 did a railroad penetrate to Charlotte. It entered a community which for a hundred years had been self-sufficient economically, self-sufficing spiritually and mentally, and with an almost unbroken experience of successfully imposing its will upon an adversary. It was a nursery of outstanding men. Daniel Boone started west from this region, and Sam Houston. Davy Crockett was another of its sons, and Kit Carson, though of a later period, was of the same hardy stock. In due time it furnished two Presidents to the United States, Jackson and Polk. There was a drift into law, born of much training in theological casuistry, and a marked participation in State politics. Interest in affairs outside the State, though, was slight. They were reluctant to hazard their dearly bought independence by joining the other states. Just enough connection with the rest to ensure peace was their ideal, and North Carolina was the next to the last of the original states to join the Union.

State politics, on the other hand, offered an absorbing field. The plan of electing Representatives and State Senators adopted at the outset left the western counties at a disadvantage, which it took years of struggle to rectify. In the meantime, the slavery issue was lifting its head. Here again there was a cleavage between East and West. The Scotch-Irish were anti-slavery men, both on principle and through the operation of those economic forces which we sometimes call by that name. Cultivating their own land, as they did, they were brought into competition with the slave labor of the eastern counties; one result was a great emigration into the free states of the Northwest, amounting, according to one authority, to 58,000 people, an incalculable loss in upstanding citizenry. The State's loss of rank on the basis of population, dropping, as it did, by the middle of the nineteenth century, from the third to the

sixteenth place, was due largely to the departure of these people. "If a vigorous appeal could have been made against slavery in these counties,' says Bassett, in his "Anti-slavery Leaders of North Carolina," "they could very likely, at any time before 1860, have been carried for freedom. It is noteworthy that all the anti-slavery leaders the State produced came from within or near this region. . . . . If we consider the righteousness of anti-slavery in the abstract, and the superior strength of the vigorous West, it cannot be doubted that had the question been left to be determined in a peaceful struggle the West would finally have removed the stain of slavery from the State. . . . . Of all the regions of the Confederacy, that which lay in these counties was very probably the strongest in anti-slavery sentiment. It is not strange that out of the sturdy inhabitants of this section there should have come leaders who went so far as to condemn certain effects of slavery, and boldly to denounce the entire system as iniquitous and unprofitable."

The issue of secession showed North Carolina to be a loyal state. In February of 1861 the people voted against holding a convention to consider the relation of the State to the Union, and at the same time elected eighty-three Union delegates out of a total of 120, in case such a convention was held.[2] Lincoln's call for troops in April brought about a revulsion of feeling, due chiefly to that aloofness of spirit and extreme individualism which had always characterized the state. But even the great welding power of a call to arms barely effaced the differences of feeling. The secession ordinance was put through by a determined governor in a convention held May 20th, by a majority of 16 votes in a total of one hundred and sixteen cast,[3] the

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2 Mary Shannon Smith, pg. 7.
3 Mary Shannon Smith, pg. 7.

outvoted Unionists sitting grim and silent when the result was announced. North Carolina furnished more than her quota of troops to the Confederacy, but conscription was difficult, and the discontent grew more and more outspoken. As was to be expected, it lay chiefly in the central and western districts. In 1863 peace meetings were held all over the state, but again chiefly in the western portion. They are described as spontaneous in origin and spreading like wildfire,[4] and they made two points perfectly clear: First, that the withdrawal from the Federal Union had been the work of the few, and that the heart of the people had never been with secession: they had been willing to "try Lincoln." Second, the right to withdraw from the Union carried with it the right to withdraw from the Confederacy, which they were quite minded to do—forecasting the fate that lay in wait for a victorious South. Civil war within the State, and a separate peace with the Federal Government, were averted only by the determining events on the great fields of contest without. When, the war over, the states in rebellion were required to repeal their secession ordinance, North Carolina declared that "the said ordinance is now and at all times has been null and void."

It would be foreign to the purposes of this paper to go into detail regarding the reconstruction legislation which followed. The sequence of events has been well epitomized by a southern writer:[5] "There were many reasons that demanded the complete emancipation of the negro and made it necessary that the race should have the right of suffrage. But that the better class of the white race were excluded from citizenship while all the freedmen were admitted was unjust. Yet nothing else could have resulted from the general trend of

4 Boyd, pg. 66.
5 W. K. Boyd, Trinity College Publications, Series III.

events." The South had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, and several southern states had passed legislation restricting the freedom of the negro. He was to be compelled to work, and punished as in slave days for failure to do so. His compensation was fixed by the whites, and he was not allowed to carry on business on his own account. He was kept always under police control. The South believed these measures necessary; the North saw in them a defiance of the national government. Conflicts between the races occurred in various localities under conditions which gave them the appearance of premeditated attacks upon the blacks. To the North, the inference seemed inescapable, and it was strongly fortified in its conclusion by Carl Schurz's report[6] to Congress, made after a tour of the South, in which he emphasized the lack of any national feeling in that part of the country. It was inevitable that it should be without such feeling, and as inevitable that the North's action should be profoundly influenced by the knowledge of that lack. Critics are wont to say that the North should have realized that the South would never submit to the conditions imposed upon her; but it was as idle for the South to nurse the idea that the North would tolerate an attempt to nullify the national will. The actors in the tragic drama moved at the bidding of the inexorable fate which lies in character.

In 1867, General Canby, a man of proved ability in dealing with troubled communities, was made military commander of the district in which North Carolina lay. Under his administration voters eligible under the Fourteenth Amendment registered, and the election of 1868 put into office as governor W. W. Holden, a Union man long influential in the State, and a Republican legislature. The Ku Klux were already in the field, and were responsible, directly or indirctly, for the vio-

6 Senate Exec. Doc. 39, Cong. 1st Sess., No. 2, pg. 13.

lence which had marked the campaign.[7] Its rival in the field was the Union League, an organization whose declared purpose was to train the freedmen in citizenship, and in which their white sympathizers had enrolled them in large numbers. The League was an unarmed and avowedly peaceful body, but to the great mass of the whites one of ominous import.

Under the intoxication of their new status the negroes were guilty of many crimes, which, in their brief day of power, they committed with impunity. Courts could be relied upon to acquit them, and the governor exercised his pardoning power lavishly in their behalf. The social demoralization of the times went far beyond offenses against individuals; the old North State, which in one hundred years had known no case of malversation in office, found itself in the hands of a band of thieves and corruptionists from which it was the duty of every honest man to deliver it. The Klans arose to meet these desperate needs of "a disordered society and a bewildered people."

Historically, the Ku Klux may be considered a link between the patrol which kept order in the ante-bellum rural South and the State constabularies of today. Its founders, according to the best historical record of the organization which we have, "were all of Scotch-Irish descent and most of them were Presbyterians,"[8] stern and responsible men who saw but one way to save the common life from the anarchy which was engulfing it. To estimate it justly we must remember "the inert mass of domesticated barbarism" which was then in power in the Southern states, and that, as Godkin of the *Nation* wrote, "the South before the war was one vast Ku Klux." Reliance upon one's own prowess for the redress of grievances was established procedure, whose traces still linger.

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7 Rhodes, History of the United States, vol. 6, pg. 182.
8 "The Ku Klux Klan," J. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson, pg. 21.

The avowed aim of the Klan was to prevent the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, to punish troublesome negroes—an elastic characterization!—and to defeat the radical—i. e., the Republican—party. It stopped at nothing to achieve its purpose. And so generally was public sympathy with it that it became as impossible to convict a Ku Klux as it had once been to secure a verdict against a Leaguer. They faced such contacts with the law with equanimity, and withdrew from them primed for new adventures.

North Carolina, from tidewater to the Appalachians, was at last one, in its determination to maintain within its borders a white man's government, and so effectively was the negro vote suppressed that in 1870 the Republican party was driven from power.

Contemporary opinion, as given by a feminine writer,[9] was that at first the Klan was composed of "the proudest, the most sensitive and cultured portions of the English race," but later "mean men" joined it, who brought it into disrepute. An ex-member declared that in taking its oath he felt that he was pledging his allegiance to the Caucasian race, and their mothers and sisters were their patron saints.[10] It is difficult for the student today, who has only the record of the Klan's deeds to guide him, to discern when the first of these groups merged in the second, but presumably the "mean men" joined in 1869 and '70. Several southern writers give the latter date as that of the Klan's disbanding, while others declare that its organized existence ended in March, 1869.[11] These statements merely fix the time when the originators of the Klan, aghast at what they had done, uttered certain incantations in the vain hope

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9 Mrs. T. J. Jarvis, "The Ku Klux Klan."

10 Women were indeed early admitted to the order, to make the uniforms and care for the wounded.

11 "Ku Klux Klan," Lester and Wilson, pg. 131.

of recalling the forces they had loosed. Matters were, in fact, going from bad to worse, until in March, 1871, President Grant informed the Senate that in certain states life and property were insecure and the carrying of the mails and collecting of internal revenue dangerous; moreover, these evils were beyond state control. He asked for legislation to deal with them.

Within a month Congress authorized the President to suppress the Ku Klux, and soon after seven batteries of the Fourth Artillery, with one hundred rounds of ammunition per man, were ordered into North Carolina. They numbered in all about 300 men. These troops, with two companies of infantry and one cavalry troop already there, were scattered over the state.[12] Battery A, consisting of forty-four men, was sent to Mecklenburg County, with headquarters at Charlotte, where there was already a small force. The man believed to be the State chief of the Klan lived at Charlotte, but Mecklenburg County was quiet. The storm center in the west was in Cleveland and Rutherford Counties, offshoots of Mecklenburg, and lying to the west and south of it. Cleveland itself was not without its traditions. It bore the name of a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, and its county seat, Shelby[13] commemorated the skill and prowess of Gen. Isaac Shelby, of whom we have already heard. It lay forty miles west of Charlotte, and twelve miles from a railroad. To this hamlet Captain Albion Howe was ordered, with some fifteen or twenty men. *Mutato mutandis,* Mrs. Howe's description of the little settlement might have come from the pen of Colonel Byrd, on his trip across the state 150 years before.

"The village," she writes, "consisted of two streets crossing at right angles, with a few intersecting lanes

12 J. G. de R. Hamilton, in "Reconstruction in North Carolina" states that in 1867 Gen. Canby had 1025 men in the State. The official records, so far as available, show that the number was now much reduced.

13 Shelby was at one time the home of the Rev. Thomas Dixon, author of "The Clansman," "Birth of a Nation," etc.

CAPTAIN ALBION HOWE

FROM HARPER'S WEEKLY, COPYRIGHT, 1873, BY HARPER & BROTHERS.

SHELBY, N. C., SHOWING INN AND YORKVILLE ROAD

FROM A PENCIL SKETCH BY MRS. ALBION HOWE, 1871.

bordered by rough and broken board fences, with scattered dwellings and a church here and there. At the crossing of the streets was a comparatively broad square where rose the court-house, in its bare wooden architecture; opposite the tiny post-office; diagonally across the street the low, rambling inn, also of wood; then the village store. The country and the woods crowded close on the heels of the small settlement. Along the wretched road, through the woods, struggled the mail cart twice a week, from the railroad, twelve miles away —an open cart carrying a passenger or two besides the mail bags, when occasion demanded. Beyond the little cluster of houses the woods stretched, and miles apart, on a little clearing, stood a dilapidated building or so, whose owner tilled the soil in the vicinity until it became worn out, when he moved all belongings, including the house, to another portion of his estate, and repeated the process.[14]

"Many of these men owned hundreds of acres, under titles dating from colonial days. Yet few in the village could read and write correctly; few had learned the ordinary amenities of life. The ordinary dress of the women was the 'sack and petticoat.' Food was of the coarsest sort. Bread (or yeast) was almost unknown, that staple being supplied by a simple cornmeal compound made with water and salt. Meat and vegetables were almost always fried, occasionally boiled, never roasted. The meat was usually from the long-legged black pigs which roamed the streets, rooting under the high-posted houses. The outside door of the inn was never closed, and chickens and pigs, as well as human beings, entered at will. Our meals were served in a square room looking on a court. The table was bare, lighted at night by tallow dips set in

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14 This form of the simple life the Scotch-Irish had brought from Ireland, where it was known as "creaghting."

saucers down the centre. Milk for the coffee was had if the cow had not strayed away, while the viands often consisted of small platters of pork and collards—an inferior cabbage." A curious vernacular was in use. Definite hours were rarely stated. "An hour by sun" meant an hour before or after sunrise or sunset. The season was indicated by the condition of the corn. They would assert "the corn was not in tassel," or "the corn was in ear," or "it was early, the corn was just in leaf."[15] "The mud was shoe-mouth deep"; "he and I were crapping together," meaning tilling the fields together.

The county was virtually in a state of war. The negroes were drilling regularly, at three different localities, one of them Shelby, meeting at night for that purpose. The whites were in consequence much alarmed, especially the small farmers, who were brought most in contact with the blacks and had suffered at their hands. The Ku Klux, for their part, had some 800 enrolled members, among them the leading men of the county. They were "as thick as people live." One of their most active recruiting officers they prudently elected sheriff, and their chief was a member of the Legislature. The former officer, one Ben Logan, gave notice that any man who voted the radical ticket would be whipped, or if he came out openly for it, might not live to see sunrise. Remonstrances from certain of the better citizens, which had temporarily restrained the Klan in some other counties, fell here on deaf ears. Gov. Holden had sent the militia against them—a body recruited largely from negroes and men from outside the State —but as a witness before the Congressional Committee justly testified later, the people of Cleveland County were "not very scary," and the militia had withdrawn discomfited. Running true to type, they were defiant of all authority, including the little handful of soldiers

15 A way of telling time taken from the Indians.

sent to bring them to terms. It was a defiance which was not limited to words. Within the year there had been two hundred outrages in the county. Barns were burned, crops destroyed, cattle maimed and stolen. People were shot, hung, "hung up," drowned, their bones broken. Hundreds slept out in the woods for safety. The whole populace went armed.

Mrs. Howe, who was fond of sketching, pursued her pleasant art under the protection of a sentry. She always carried a pistol, which Captain Howe had taught her to use, and a lifelong resident of Shelby, who was hardly more than a child during reconstruction days, told the writer that at that time she always went armed.

In some cases the victims of the Ku Klux were charged with crimes, but as a rule their offense lay in their political affiliation. The Klan rode at night, usually between midnight and dawn. Their dress, as Mrs. Howe describes it, was a red or black domino, both that and the mask decorated with the skull and crossbones. Great horns branched from the heads of their shrouded horses as well as from their own. Their confidence, however, was such, that the disguise was sometimes very slight—a handkerchief tied over the face, perhaps not even that. One clansman, with an amiable desire to conform, and nothing else handy, donned a loose shirt over his other clothing, and let that suffice. Their method was to rush at a house, break in the door, and snatch their victims out of bed. Here is the account of one such raid, given by sworn witnesses before a Congressional committee, the victims being a man of sixty-five, his daughter, who was the widow of a Confederate soldier, and her little girl, nine or ten years old. They were white, but Republicans.

"His whole body was inflamed and almost black with bruises and bleeding wounds. On his back, sides, legs, down to his feet, the surface was all cut to pieces. He said he

thought two of his ribs were broken. He had a difficulty in breathing and was much prostrated. They had him propped up with pillows. He told us what had occurred."

Q. "Give the substance of his statement."

Ans. "He says they came there about midnight; his daughter said she counted forty of them, and there were a great many in the road she did not attempt to count; that the road seemed to be full of horses and men."

Q. "Were the men disguised?"

Ans. "They were masked."

Q. "Were they armed?"

Ans. "They were armed with guns and pistols. They brought such a pressure against his door as to cause the facing to give way to which the hinges were attached. I saw the door in that condition Monday. They found the old man in bed, and they pulled him out of bed and dragged him out into the road in front of the house. There they beat him with hickories and kicked him with their feet for a long time and then brought him back into the house. Then they brought him out a second time and beat him very severely and burned off his hair.[16] They also struck his daughter and beat her about the shoulders."

Another typical raid was against Essic Harris, a "good" negro, but suspected of being a Leaguer. At least fifty shots were fired into his house, where he was with his wife and five children. The mother and baby hid under one mattress and the other children huddled together "like little pigs" under the other.

Q. "You say that some shots struck the bedstead?"

Ans. "Yes, sir."

Q. "The children were all piled up together?"

Ans. "Yes, sir."

Q. "Did the children make any noise?"

Ans. "No, sir; they did not make any fuss, only the suckling child. That cried a while, and then it didn't cry at all. The others did not make any fuss at all."

This picture of ruthless savagery and childish terror had one alleviating feature. The negroes had been told that it was impossible to hurt a Ku Klux; if you fired

16 Burning off the hair of the victims was quite common.

at them the bullet would rebound and kill you. This may have been the way Harris received his nine wounds, but he brought down the man who broke in his door, and seriously wounded another. It is well to have a superstition dispelled.

The "crimes" with which the Ku Klux's victims were charged were often ingeniously simple. One man was given twenty-five lashes on the report that he had accused a white woman of taking some of his corn. Another was beaten because he had passed a white neighbor without speaking to her. In yet another instance a few missing cabbages were a sufficient pretext. As to the Republican vote, it was effectually silenced. Three-fourths of the whites in the county were Democrats, and nine-tenths of the Democrats were Ku Klux. The Klan was in the saddle in Cleveland County! Defiance of the Federal authority was open, the Shelby *Banner* advising armed resistance, and using all its power to prevent the securing of evidence against the Klan, or confessions by its members.

Such were the conditions out of which Captain Howe and his handful of men were expected to bring peace and order. He established his camp in the woods a mile or more from town, and mounted his men, since only as cavalry could they operate in such a country. Late in November ten cavalrymen were sent from a camp "eight hours riding" away, bringing his force up to its maximum strength of twenty-five. Scouting details were sent out on orders from headquarters at Raleigh, or on the request of the United States Marshal. Instructions were often succinct: "Jordan —— is probably intended for Kide or Elisha ——. It does not much matter in any case what his first name is, as there is no one of the name of —— in the county who has not been into some devilment or who is not charged with crime."

"Get —— —— also. He is supposed to be at his home, but *shy*."

The bashfulness of the gentlemen in question was encouraged by their neighbors. The camp was closely watched, and at the slightest hint that a scout was in prospect the alarm would be given. The troopers would sometimes be gone for several days, returning then without their quarry. The largest number ever sent out at one time was eighteen, when a group of men known to be murderers were to be arrested, but the usual detail consisted of five or six—once, but of two men. It was steady work, so that additional horses soon had to be requisitioned, baffling and dangerous. Nevertheless, arrests were made, and the men sent out of the State for trial. As a result, many were convicted and sent to prison. These were disconcerting facts. The local editor redoubled his efforts to prevent confessions, and private citizens reinforced his plea. Holding one's tongue was represented as a religious duty, for one should love one's neighbor as one's self.

But the sight of the United States uniform was potent on the other side. Captain and Mrs. Howe lived in an ell of the forlorn inn, their door opening directly on the street. This door, unlike the main entrance of the building, would close, but it had neither lock nor bolt. As they sat by their fire in the evening there would often come a timid knock, the door would open cautiously, and a man, usually a negro, would slip into the room. These men would make their way through the woods to the edge of the town, and lie hidden by a fence or fallen log until darkness made it safe for them to approach the inn.

"Marster, will you listen to me?"

Then they would tell their pitiful stories and show their bruises and their wounds. White men, too, began to enter their complaints and to confess.

Among the papers given the Buffalo Historical Society by Mrs. Howe is a volume of such confessions. The earliest dates are about a month after the arrival of the troops, and for weeks thereafter the incredible story was unrolled. The men who confessed were naturally those who had joined the Ku Klux from motives of prudence or under some degree of compulsion or misunderstanding. One such recruit had protested that he did not care for societies, except religious ones and Free Masonry, but he had joined on the assurance that this was about the same thing. His subsequent lukewarmness and final withdrawal are the nearest approach to a conviction of sin which the manuscript reveals. But if the Ku Klux could only be considered constructively a religious society, there was at least about it the flavor of the sanctuary. Raids were frequently arranged after church, when the men could conveniently foregather; and we have the record of one, in which a woman was the victim, ordered by a clergyman "to stop talking"—an interesting recrudescence of the authority of the cloth.[17] The meetings of "dens" were frequently held in school houses. They were not devoted entirely to planning violence; there were subsidiary questions of ethics to be weighed. On one occasion they discussed what should be done with men who took private property on a raid, the four chiefs present deciding that the offender should pay twenty-five per cent of the value of such property to the chief of his den. Upon that the deponent exclaimed, "That does not meet my feelings!" But when asked what his feelings were, he replied that he was not able to express them!

Judging by these records, negroes and whites fared about the same at the Klan's hands. Nor were women granted any special protection. Their hair was burned off, they were beaten, crippled for life, and killed. Their

17 Confession of J. C. Putnam, pg. 15, Ku Klux Papers, B. H. S.

offences, too, were political, though there were exceptions. Lavina Baffield, an old woman, who was dragged out of bed and "thrown about from place to place until she was almost exhausted and bruised to death," had spread the whooping cough through the county.[18] Sometimes the spirit of wanton terrorism seemed to actuate the raiders. A white woman's house was broken into, and while, with a child in her arms, she tried to make the light which they demanded, they fired into each piece of furniture, twice into the bed, where someone might be concealed.[19] Oftener, it was frank and murderous brutality. A negro testified that he had been struck on the head, dragged from his cabin, stabbed with a bayonet, cut and clubbed—"because you are a radical, nothing else."[20] A white man had pepper thrown into his eyes and then in turn they lashed him until he fainted under the torture.[21]

The hideous recital need not be prolonged. The men who did these things may have felt that they were redeeming a pledge to the Caucasian race; or some vague atavistic memory of other clansmen, called out by fiery signals to raid and pillage, may have stirred within them; but seen in the cold perspective of fifty years a simpler explanation seems to cover the facts.

But under the troopers' steady work the Klan's prestige was tottering. Something must be done. At Christmas, the year before, they had ridden through the streets of Shelby, after nightfall, one hundred and fifty strong, "just to show."[22] Nor was it merely a pageant which they offered for the citizens' holiday. One Dick Tully, a negro, whom they tried to get on that occasion, escaped them, but a white woman, the wife of a preacher, was killed by the Sugar Creek den. What better than

18 Confessions, pg. 77, Ku Klux Papers, B. H. S.
19 Confessions, pg. 79, Ku Klux Papers, B. H. S.
20 Confessions, pg. 72, Ku Klux Papers, B. H. S.
21 Confessions and Complaints, Ku Klu Papers, B. H. S.
22 Confessions, pg. 53.

a second Christmas parade at Shelby, but this time in broad daylight! Their defiance would be the greater because United States troops were near at hand, and "to go in disguise upon the public highway" had been forbidden by Act of Congress.

The announcement of their plan carried consternation to the people of Shelby, and they appealed to Captain Howe to interfere. The situation was critical in the extreme—for this time the Klan would not ride unchallenged!

The men who had suffered at its hands, heartened by the protection which the national government was giving them, felt that their hour had come. They, too, would be in Shelby on Christmas Day, and at least meet their stealthy foe on equal terms! When they learned that attacks on the Ku Klux would no more be allowed than violence by them, their anger against Captain Howe was as keen as against the Klan itself. They would not be balked of their just revenge!

During all of Christmas morning they gathered, coming in to town by twoes and threes, many of them drunk, all of them quarrelsome, and all of them armed. The few who had no firearms carried farm implements, such as pitchforks and axes. They assembled in the village street, and a crowd gathered before the inn. Mrs. Howe, alone in her room, could hear them, outside her door, cursing the Yankee captain and the Yankee captain's wife. Captain Howe was absent scouring the countryside for citizens who would stand with him, as representatives of the civil power, in preserving law and order. About noon he returned, having found two, the United States Marshal and one other. No time was to be lost. The hour fixed by the Ku Klux for their appearance was approaching. He put one of his pistols in his belt, took the other in his hand, offered his wife his arm, threw open the door of their room, and they walked

out. He took her to the camp, where he ordered his men under arms, and rode back to town, attended only by his bugler.[23]

The Ku Klux made good their word. About thirty strong, well mounted and in full regalia, they rode into town, approaching from one side as the United States officer and his orderly entered from the other. Down the unkempt village street, thronged with armed men full of hate for both soldier and clansman, Captain Howe rode to meet them. He called on them to halt and disperse!

Probably he owed his life to the dramatic suspense of that moment. Then a man or two wavered, the ranks broke, and firing their pistols in the air, the vaunted parade dissolved into a disorganized mass. They did not disappear, however, but hovered on the outskirts of the town, and for two or three hours a riot seemed imminent. The next morning half a dozen boys, led by a Ku Klux, rode through the village. The great defiance was over!

At headquarters it was questioned whether, with the Ku Klux before him, Captain Howe should not then and there have made arrests; but the death of innocent people would have followed, and it was truer judgment to leave the discomfited desperadoes to face the covert smiles of the countryside and offer such explanations as they could in the family circle.

Following the Christmas parade, some hundred Ku Klux were arrested, and confessions multiplied. The sheriff decided that it would be to the advantage of the county if he withdrew from the Klan, and a like sensitiveness developed in other quarters. Lawlessness, though, was by no means suppressed. A month later an attempt was made to murder a deputy United States

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23 Mrs. Albion Howe's papers; in his official report Capt. Howe merely states that "I disposed my troops for the emergency."

Marshal, and Captain Howe reported that from all that he saw and heard and knew, the spirit of aggression toward the United States authorities was on the increase. But it was the final upleap of the flames, the last desperate clutch at prestige and power. There were no raids after Christmas, and by spring the era of violence was over. "Boots and saddles" sounded for the last time at the camp in the woods. The troopers rode off, their gallant duty done, and its wonted obscurity again enveloped the little hamlet.

As the curtain falls on our tiny stage, we may moralize a little over the drama which we have seen represented upon it. The Ku Klux rule was no interlude, played before the drop curtain, but an integral part of the human scene, with roots deep in history and racial qualities. Its story has been much beclouded. The mystery surrounding the Klan, which so laid hold of the untutored imagination of its public, and to which it so largely owed its power, was a mystery born of rhetoric and not of fact. Conditions being what they were, the Klans were inevitable. A challenge had been given to which the white man has but one answer. Never, in his long history, has he submitted to the rule of another race; if his will to govern does not spring from an inherent gift it has, at any rate, become an established habit. This age-old determination the Klan expressed by the primitive methods natural to a secluded people. The tide of humane feeling which has so changed the collective life of civilized man during the past hundred years had not lapped the shores of these remote communities; they dealt with their problems—in this case one which struck at the very heart of life—in a fashion determined by their isolation, the standards of slavery, and the harsh temper which had breathed in their theology and pervaded their history.

As there is little that is obscure about the origin of

the Klan, so there is none about its disappearance. It did not "go out of life, as it came into it, shrouded in deepest mystery," at the bidding of an invisible potentate, but succumbed to the power of Federal authority, exercised through its trained soldiery. Paradoxical as it may seem, the arrest of these men and their transportation to the North for trial, may have been, in many a self-centered group, the beginning of national consciousness. A journey to Albany at least afforded the advantages of travel!

It is often said that if Lincoln had lived the history of reconstruction would have been different. His benign spirit might indeed have lessened its disasters, but it is doubtful whether he could have averted them. North and South faced the great problem which they had in common with that incomplete understanding and that spiritual insufficiency which humanity so surely reveals in the crises of its history; nor is the richness of spirit of any man or group of men of much avail in staying the great impersonal forces which mould our destinies.

Those which actually guided our history during the reconstruction period were typified by two men, Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner—Hell and Utopia, as they were called. The enduring mischief was done by Utopia. Hell is little to be feared, even that form incarnate which the able and relentless Stevens seemed in the imagination of the Southern people. The fierce passions burn themselves out, and time brings its adjustments and its healing; but the blight of Utopia is still on the land.

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THE STORY OF A FLAG

As told by George F. Williams

A much faded flag, long in the keeping of the Buffalo Historical Society, sometimes arouses the curiosity of the museum visitors. It is an early flag of the Southern Confederacy, with two broad red stripes and one white one. In the blue field is a large star surrounded by seven small ones; and at the lower left corner of the blue field is a half star, as though just entering the field from outer darkness. The flag is three by six feet in size.

The story of this interesting flag, as written by Mr. George F. Williams,[1] the man who captured it and brought it to Buffalo, here follows:

"In the winter of 1860 and the spring of 1861, I was employed as carpenter on the steamer *Queen of the West,* trading between Cincinnati and New Orleans.

"In the first week of May of 1861 we were on our way up the river, and when within about ten miles of Helena, Arkansas, we were hailed by a man on the bank, who informed the captain that he wanted passage.

"In accordance with the custom of those days the boat was put in at the bank and the passenger informed the clerk that he only wanted passage to Helena. In those days it was considered a good rule to stop and pick up all passengers, no matter what distance they wished to go, and so the matter was for the time being dismissed.

"Had there been no passengers for Helena, the boat would have passed up the river on the easterly side, as she would encounter less current. As we neared Helena, we saw a great crowd of people at the regular

1. Formerly No. 291 Swan St., Buffalo.

TWO EARLY CONFEDERATE FLAGS

The story of the one at the left is told in this volume. Several kinds of Confederate flags, including the "Stars and Bars," are in the Historical Society Museum.

landing and a gentleman waving a handkerchief and shouting to 'Land right here!'

"Of course the boat was landed, a line was run out and made fast; also a gang-plank by which our passenger went ashore and was enthusiastically greeted. More lines and more gang-planks were ordered out and then a company of State troops were ordered aboard, and we were informed that the boat and cargo were seized by authority of the Common Council of the City of Helena, Arkansas. The man who ordered us to land, etc., proved to be the Mayor. He and the other officials treated us with respect and in some cases with courtesy. The company of soldiers that was ordered aboard were a set of blackguards recruited from the scum element. When the Mayor was informed that the soldiers were guilty of improper conduct, he promptly ordered another company aboard the boat and dismissed the offenders. The crowd that made themselves offensive on that occasion were headed by Congressman Hindman, afterwards Rebel General.

"I have always been of the opinion that the part played by the Mayor and the Common Council was forced upon them by Hindman and his fire-eating followers.

"As soon as a hearing could be had before the Mayor and Common Council, Captain Scott (the captain of the *Queen of the West*) and the chief clerk showed them the steamer's papers and argued that as three-fifths of the boat belonged to a Breckenridge Democrat of Cincinnati, and two-fifths to owners living in Kentucky, that the city of Helena would be making war upon their own friends by holding the boat. To this view of the case the officials were in full accord and it was agreed that as soon as another steamer could be captured, so as to satisfy the bad crowd led by Hindman, they would let the *Queen of the West* go. About eight o'clock in

the evening the steamer *Mars* came up the river, and when nearly opposite the landing was hailed and ordered to land. As the captain was a little slow in obeying, a great shout was sent up by the crowd, and an old cannon that was staked down to the bank loaded with scrap iron and cobblestones was fired off at the steamer, whereupon she promptly came to, and was afterwards used in the Confederate Navy.

"During the night the *Queen of the West* got under way and made the best speed possible until she reached the Ohio river, where we all felt that we were out of danger. The rest of the passage was not without incident and excitement, but it is my purpose to tell you how I got possession of the flag that accompanies this article.

"The next morning after the *Queen of the West* was liberated I observed the Stars and Bars fluttering at the head of the jack-staff. Without giving thought to the fact that many of our passengers were men of strong Rebel sympathies, I promptly hauled the flag down. As I afterwards learned, the offense was not so much because I hauled it down as the manner in which it was done. I was advised by those who were very friendly to me, to keep a sharp lookout and not to go into the cabin except when it was absolutely necessary. I believe that all the "passengers" of Union sentiments kept a sharp lookout for their safety until the Ohio river was reached.

"At the time of which I am writing, May, 1861, the Southern states had not all seceded: Arkansas had not passed the ordinance of secession and so her star is represented as being a little more than half inside the Union of the flag.

"I arrived in Buffalo about May 20th and I believe that I brought the first Confederate flag to this city."

"KNIGHT OF THE PORTUGUESE MILITARY ORDER OF OUR LADY OF THE CONCEPTION OF VILLA VICOSA," AND WHY

By Col. Charles O. Shepard

It is rather a long and intricate story, but prolixity seems to be necessary.

In the month of August, 1872, a Peruvian barque bound for Callao, Peru, put into Yokohama under stress of weather. Peru had then no treaty with Japan and no consul, but by instructions from Washington the representatives of the United States, civil, diplomatic and consular, were made representatives also for Peru. It happened that I was just then Chargé d' Affaires during Mr. DeLong's absence in America and, on the morning of August 12th, a message came to the legation from the consulate informing me that a Peruvian barque, *Maria a' Luz,* desired to "enter." At the same time the vice consul in charge, Mr. Mitchell, communicated his suspicions that the stranger was a "coolie" ship. I directed that the facts be ascertained and the captain referred to me. To the legation accordingly he came and with him a note from the vice consul saying that the ship was almost surely loaded with coolies. I questioned the man through an interpreter from the Spanish Legation, as follows:

"Capt. Hereino, where are you bound?"

"Callao, Sir."

"Where from?"

"China."

"What port in China?"

"Macao"—rather hesitatingly. Macao is a Portuguese-owned island between Hong Kong and Canton.

"What have you on board, Captain?"

"Provisions, rice, hemp and a few other things."

These articles named were merely necessary ship's stores and I could see that the captain was trying to steer clear of the coolies which, of course, only strengthened my suspicions.

"Any passengers, Captain?"

"Oh yes, a few."

"What is their nationality?"

"Mostly Chinese."

"Are any of them on shore?"

"No, I think not."

"Don't you *know* not?"

"Well yes, I think I do."

"Would you prevent their coming on shore?"

"Yes, I would, because I am bound to deliver them in Callao."

"Captain," I said, "let us make this matter short and plain. You have coolies on board, have you not, and coolies only. You get so much per head delivered in Callao. You don't allow them to follow their own inclinations but they must obey your will. In short they are slaves, not passengers. I have heard all about it. Can you deny these statements?"

He could not although he tried vainly to explain them away.

"Captain," said I, "I am instructed to give aid and assistance to your countrymen whenever in doing so I do not violate the laws of my own country or the instructions of my government. To give you aid under the circumstances would be to violate both, and the least said about your occupation the best. I shall deny you any aid and all assistance or recognition and further-

more I shall hold you until I can advise the Japanese Government to arrest and punish you."

The Peruvian protested and finally had the impudence to ask if I dared to put on paper such an unfriendly answer to a friendly government. In ten minutes he had the following:

UNITED STATES LEGATION
YOKOHAMA, JAPAN, Aug. 12th, 1872.

CAPT. HEREINO, Peruvian Barque "*Maria a' Luz*:

CAPTAIN: In reply to your application for aid, protection and assistance I regret to say that the occupation in which you are engaged—the coolie trade—is against the laws of Heaven, the statutes of my country, the enactments of all civilized governments and the dictates of my own conscience. I therefore unhesitatingly and unreservedly decline to give you my diplomatic or consular name, aid or seal in any form or manner whatsoever.

Yours truly,
CHARLES O. SHEPARD,
Chargé d' Affaires.

Naturally Hereino was not pleased and naturally too he did not prolong his stay, although he left in charge of the Marshal. I at once advised the Japanese Government of his character and occupation, giving them a copy of my answer to him, at the same time asking them to consider whether it was not their duty, in the name of humanity, to take charge of the ship and the coolies.

The suggestion was endorsed by the British Minister. The Japanese Government did so see.

The captain was promptly arrested (taken over from me), the ship given into the charge of the Japanese customs officials, and the unhappy prisoners were liberated. The *Maria a' Luz* had on board between 200 and 300 coolies from Macao, confined in a stifling, unventilated hold and almost never allowed to see daylight. Their story of oppression was almost beyond belief. Some had been kidnapped and some had been lured

on board by false representations. All were destined for a death-in-life existence in the mines of Peru.

To give the details of the trial and punishment of Hereino would be uninteresting. He was jailed, his ship confiscated and the Chinese Government at once sent commissioners to take the coolies back to their homes. I at once reported my action to Washington and Secretary Fish "approved" my action.

The Peruvian Government sent an ambassador and two warships to demand damages and to blow Japan out of the water if she refused, which damages her ministers declined to pay; instead a treaty was made for a reference to the Czar of Russia who, two years afterward, decided all points in favor of the Japanese.

For my action in the matter the Chinese Government sent me a gold medal about as large as a Cheshire cheese and posted me throughout the empire as the savior of 300 of its subjects from the horrors of slavery. The Portuguese authorities in Lisbon had long tried to stop the inhuman traffic but the coolie and opium smuggling trades meant wealth to the governors of the island, who would wink at them; hence the executives invariably became venal and retired with fortunes before retribution came dangerously near them. They were 15,000 miles from legal power and could—for sufficient time—do as they liked. Lisbon had therefore never been able actually to catch a ship with its contraband cargo on board. This seizure however gave them something tangible to go upon and proved the beginning of the end. The Governor of Macao was recalled, dismissed and punished. The King promptly signified, through his Minister to China and Japan, his desire to honor me with knighthood, which honor I accepted, years afterward, when I had again retired to private life. I informed my friend the Minister that, as a Government officer, I was not allowed to accept foreign

COL. SHEPARD'S PORTUGUESE DECORATION.

COL. SHEPARD'S CHINESE CHAIR.—See. p. 53.

decorations without the consent of Congress; that I was promised, in time, an exchange to some European consulate; that I would—if delay to a convenient time was possible—see that a brief hiatus occurred between the two appointments in which I would, for a few days, be a *private citizen,* and at liberty to accept. I was privately told, "Take your time."

I was transferred in 1875—the acceptance was made as per programme and later I received a communication of which the following is a copy and translation:

PALACE OF THE AJUDA, (LISBON)
June 13th, 1876

To CHARLES O. SHEPARD,
Citizen of the United States:

I, the King of Portugal, etc. send you my best greeting.

Taking into consideration the circumstances connected with your person and wishing to confer upon you a public testimonial of my esteem for the repeated services which you have rendered the Portuguese Government, and according to the proposal of the Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I deign to nominate you Knight of the Portuguese Military Order of Our Lady of the Conception of Villa Vicosa, which I now communicate to you for your information and in order that you may at once be able to wear the respective insignia, I send you this letter written in the Palace of Ajuda on the thirteenth of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six.

(*Signed by the King*) EL REY
(*Countersigned by the Home Minister*)
ANTONIO ROI SAMPAIO

To receive the accolade at the hands of the King, as suggested by my friend the Minister, appealed to me, and I speedily requested leave of absence for the following December.

I crossed the Bay of Biscay when that traditionally tumultuous body of water was in one of its worst tempers. I parted with nearly everything but my passport and my birth certificate soon after leaving London

docks and when we entered the Tagus, my inner consciousness was about the only thing that remained with me. The Hotel Braganza had been recommended to me as the best hostelry in Lisbon, not only on account of its commanding situation, but also by reason of its faultless appointments and unrivaled café. I had provided myself liberally with money—as I thought—for I proposed to do the magnificent as became the dignity to which I had been presented; hence, when the porter—that all-powerful person in Continental hotels—broached the matter of apartments he found me rather princely in my requirements.

Noticing the rosette in my buttonhole he tickled me with "Excellency," whereupon I immediately bestowed a half sovereign upon him and resolved to add a salon to my suite. "Hang the expense! does not the porter call me 'Excellency' and didn't the gendarme present arms to me? Ho, for the café and dinner." I strolled in with nothing less than the air of a count.

The *maitre d'hotel* greeted me with "Excellency" again and waived me to a cozy little niche. Evidently I was being taken at my own valuation. I ordered dinner as becomes one who was celebrating. I knew a Portuguese wine of great reputation and demanded a bottle thereof. I had great satisfaction in that dinner—reveled in it and in myself. I lingered long over it, too, smoking cigarettes between the courses. But the end came at least with cognac and black coffee. Then I called for the "addition."

I presume I had read in "Innocents Abroad" of "Blucher's" experience with the Portuguese currency, at Fayal, but it had not remained in my memory.

Imagine, therefore, my consternation when said "addition" was presently produced,—8,500 *reis!!* "Stepmother of Moses!! O Lord! Where am I, how am I!! Eight thousand—Great Scott!!" Everything inside me

seemed to move toward my boots as mercury sinks into the bulb. My weather, I judged, must be about down to freezing. I could hardly keep from sliding down under the table. Eighty-five hundred—Good Heavens! I hadn't *one* thousand of anything. One hundred pounds sterling was nearer the amount. Should I throw myself into the Tagus or should I leave my luggage, sneak on board our ship, which was still in the harbor, and fly for Gibraltar? It was hard to arrive an "Excellency" and depart an absconding debtor, but there seemed no alternative. What would the Minister think when he called for me the next day? What would the Court say? What would—O well! No matter *what* they would say. Disgrace or no disgrace, I had no such amount of money.

Just to say something, and to gain time, I called the waiter and asked if he could tell me the amount in English money. "O certainly." He consulted his chief and presently returned with a piece of paper on which I knew my doom was written clear. Taking the fatal slip and squaring myself with a supreme effort at dignity and self control, I bent my gaze upon it. At first the figures danced before my eyes like a row of brownies in a mist. When, in a moment, they came to a state of comparative rest, this is what I read—"28 *shillings and* 6 *pence,*" or $8.50 in American money. (There are 1,000 reis in a dollar.)

"O! Ah! Yes! Of course! Is that all? Well, here you are and, waiter, a trifle of 1,000 reis for yourself. Ahem! Bring Habanas—the very best."

By next morning I had quite recovered my equilibrium and was ready to receive a visit from my old friend the Minister of Japan.

Arrangements were made for the ceremony of decoration. On the day appointed I was waited upon by an aide de camp of the King and was escorted in a state

carriage to the palace. We were shown into a small room where, after a few kind words from the Sovereign, I knelt, as is the custom in such cases; was touched on each shoulder with a sword, by his Majesty, and arose a knight of the order of Our Lady of the Conception. The jewel was then clasped about my neck by the King, grandfather of the deposed Manuel. The insignia in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society is a copy only. I purchased in Paris this faithful but inexpensive reproduction of the original, which latter was set with brilliants. The original was lost in a fire which destroyed my house at Mt. Morris.

WONG CHIN FOO—THE STORY OF A CHAIR

By Col. Charles O. Shepard

It was a forlorn, dilapidated, disheartened little Chinaman that presented himself to me at the consulate in Yokohama in 1872, asking for advice and protection —particularly for protection. His natural peach-yellow complexion was ashen in hue and his frame trembled in anticipation of prospective strangulation. Not at all the timber from which successful conspirators are made.

In answer to the inquiry: "What is the matter?" he told me a thrilling but comical story.

He had been educated at Yale; had gone back to China and, not approving of the Oriental methods of government, had attempted to establish—over night—a republican form of administration in that conservative empire. Strange to relate, the existing authorities had objected to his schemes to the extent of forfeiting his head and he had barely managed to escape the country with that part of his anatomy which contained his brains. He was not much better off in Japan, for the Chinese authorities—so he said—were after him "hot foot."

I told him that although he had been a little precipitate still, because of my sympathy with liberal government and personal liberty, I would do the best I could for him. There was not, however, much time to be lost. By the next Pacific mail steamer (the next day) Chinese officers were arriving from Shanghai to demand his delivery of the Japanese Government.

The vice consul, Mr. Mitchell, advised me that an American brig was clearing, that afternoon, for San-Francisco. I hastily arranged with the captain that the man should work his passage, and within two hours after he made his appeal to me, he was on board ship. The brig really passed the incoming steamer half way down the bay. "A miss" was "as good as a mile" in that instance. The "traitor" had gone and that was all the Chinese officers could find out from me. With the many occurrences of my post the incident soon passed entirely out of my mind.

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Twenty years passed and I had long since returned from my European service and was living in Buffalo. I had read, now and again, of a very clever Chinaman —Wong Chin Foo. I had seen his sarcastic skit, "Why do I Remain a Heathen," and admired his charming "The Celestial Empress" and had wondered about him generally.

Attempt, therefore, if you can, to compass my astonishment upon receiving a call one day from Wong Chin Foo (as the card said), who proclaimed me his "savior." Buddha and Confucius!! I couldn't believe my senses. It was the same little chap whom I had befriended in Yokohama and who insisted, with reason perhaps, that I had saved his life. He was inclined to embrace me and weep upon my shoulder.

His gratitude seemed to have no bounds. He was for many years the official Chinese interpreter for the New York courts. Whenever, during the next ten years, I went to New York, he insisted upon feasting me, and he kept my wife supplied with lichus and other Chinese sweets. The Chinese authorities offered him amnesty, but he suspected ulterior motives and gave his native country a wide berth. He had a brilliant mind but the

"cup that inebriates" lured him and he succumbed ten or fifteen years ago. When he had found me he said:

"I am sending to China and having made an ebony marble-seated chair fashioned after one occupied by Confucius which I ask you to accept as an evidence of my gratitude."

That is the chair now preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

Charles O. Shepard, writer of these sketches, was a native of Arcade, N. Y. May 9, 1861, being 21 years old, he enlisted, at Buffalo, as a private in Co. C, 21st N. Y. Volunteer Infantry. On Feb. 28, 1862, he was discharged from the 21st, and promoted to be second lieutenant, 82d N. Y. Infantry. He was wounded, June 8, 1862; became first lieutenant July 1, 1862; and discharged the following November, on account of ill health. Soon after he was appointed to a position in the Treasury, which he resigned to become the first U. S. consul at Yeddo—now Tokio, Japan. He narrowly escaped assassination and was transferred to Yokohama where during an extended absence of the U. S. Minister, he served as chargé d' affaires. After his return from Japan he was consul at Bradford and Leeds, England. Having returned to America, he held several positions, including that of commandant of the Soldiers' Home at Bath. He has been for many years a member of this Society, and is now passing his sunset days in California.

OTHER HISTORIC CHAIRS

Colonel Shepard's Chinese chair is by no means the only one in the Historical Building that has, if not exactly a "story," at least some historic interest and association attaching to it.

One of them is a substantial armchair, upholstered in leather, which for many years has been used by the presiding officer at meetings of the society. It was made for the Historical Society in the days when the institution was young. When Augustus Porter, afterwards Judge Porter, first came to the Niagara in 1796, there was standing, on land which later became his homestead, a venerable oak. It stood for 60 years more. Later, when the Buffalo Historical Society was organized, Mr. Albert H. Porter had an armchair made from wood of the old oak—a tree which was large and lusty in the days of La Salle!—and presented it to the Society, February 20, 1866. The chair is still in good condition and is much used; though it has been somewhat superceded, as the throne of the presiding officer, by a large carved chair presented by President Andrew Langdon in 1903. He procured it in Luzerne, with the assurance that it was of the XVth century. It is apparently of chestnut, and has been called Tudor in style.

Of greater interest to the student of American history is a chair, given to the Society many years ago by the late Mrs. Emily B. Alward, which formerly belonged to Colonel Josiah Snelling, whose activities extended from 1782 to 1829. He served under Winfield Scott at Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie, in 1814, and later founded Fort St. Anthony on the upper Mississippi, now called, in his honor, Fort Snelling. It is an ample armchair,

crude but substantial in workmanship, with a broad hand-rest or shelf on the right arm. Here indeed is a relic which has intimate association with a maker of American history.

The Society owns several leather-seated, black walnut chairs formerly a part of the furnishings of the City Club on Washington street, and later in the so-called White House on Main street, headquarters of the Buffalo Republican League, of notable service and many memories. But of all the chairs in the possession of the Society, there has probably been most said and written regarding the so-called Cornwallis chair.

In 1903 the late Jesse Peterson of Lockport presented to this Society a chair of the familiar old Windsor pattern which is said to have been in the Moore house near Yorktown, Virginia, at the time of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, 1781. Before it came to the Historical Society this chair had been referred to as "the Cornwallis chair," and the claim presently was made that Cornwallis had occupied it when he signed the articles of capitulation. Something to this effect appearing in the local papers, several letters were elicited from writers who held that Cornwallis probably never had occupied the chair. One correspondent wrote that the capitulation of Yorktown "was signed at Moore's house by commissioners from American and British forces, and Cornwallis was sick and confined in works at Yorktown at the time. Possibly the chair might have been at Moore's house at the time, but we think there is no proof that Cornwallis ever was in the house."

Another writer to the press called attention to "the fact that Moore's house is not situated in Yorktown, but nearly two miles from there, and inside the lines of the American army during the siege of Yorktown." Still another writer asserted that Cornwallis signed the capitulation at his quarters in the town, etc. So much

interest was shown in the matter that the secretary of the Historical Society furnished the following statement to a Buffalo paper:

"Our Society makes no claim in the matter beyond what is contained in documents handed over to us by Mr. Jesse Peterson of Lockport, the donor of the chair. These papers include the sworn and indorsed statement of Robert Nelson Pendleton of Wytheville, Virginia, a descendant of Daniel and Mary Moore who, prior to the Revolution, built the house in Yorktown, since known as the Moore house. His statement gives at length not only the family history from Daniel Moore's day to his own, but gives the ownership, through three successive generations, of those articles of Daniel's old furniture which have become known as the Moore relics. There have been so few owners, and they have belonged to families of such social prominence in Virginia and West Virginia, that the whereabouts and fame of the relics have never been lost sight of.

"During the Civil War the Moore chairs, silver and other relics, with letters, family records, etc., were at Mr. Pendleton's home, Westwood, Jefferson County, West Virginia. The place was occupied for a time in the fall of 1864 by General Sherman; and his troops, according to Mr. Pendleton, destroyed the family papers but spared the old furniture.

"Mr. Pendleton's statement pretty satisfactorily establishes the identity of the Moore relics—which, by the way, were exhibited at the World's Fair in Chicago, and afterward at the Tennessee Centennial—with the furniture that was in Daniel Moore's house in Yorktown where Cornwallis surrendered. The authorities agree, I believe, that the articles of surrender were signed in the Moore house. Mr. Pendleton says, apparently resting the assertion on family knowledge or tradition: 'The chairs were used constantly by Lord Cornwallis

while he occupied the Moore house in York . . . . The chests of drawers, cupboard, and spoons were used by himself and his officers. On this account Mrs. Moore left them specially to her niece, Mrs. Lucy Digges, who left them to me.'

"All of this, I am aware, is not proof that Cornwallis used the furniture in Moore's house, which was not his headquarters. There may or may not exist proof positive in the matter. According to Lossing, Cornwallis asked Washington to send commissioners to the Moore house, to arrange terms of surrender. Washington named Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Noailles; Cornwallis sent Lieutenant Colonel Dundas and Major Ross. These four worthies met at the Moores and undoubtedly used the Moore relics. Whether Lord Cornwallis went there to sign the articles or whether the commissioners carried them to him at some other house (the Nelson house, his headquarters, had been too heavily shelled to be comfortable), I don't attempt to say. The only affirmation in the matter, one way or the other, that I know of, is Mr. Pendleton's."

Accompanying the chair, the Historical Society received from Mr. Peterson a copy of the Pendleton statement, bearing the signatures of eight endorsers of the facts as set forth above. Among them are those of the Hon. W. L. Wilson, one-time president of Washington and Lee University; General Charles T. O'Ferrell of Richmond, former Governor of Virginia; and Thomas Nelson Page, Virginia author and diplomat. The sworn statement of these men is surely entitled to consideration.

Exhibited with the Cornwallis chair is a framed photographic copy of the surrender parole of Lord Cornwallis, with his photograph and signature, dated "York Town 28th day of October, 1781." This was a gift from Mr. Lewis J. Bennett, a former member of the Board of Managers of the Society.

THE OLD BERGHOLTZ POTTERY

By Ada Walker Camehl

I am one of that company made illustrious by the membership of Horace Walpole and the gentle Elia. "China's the passion of my soul," and I love, as did Charles Lamb, the vari-hued and quaintly drawn creatures "in this world before perspective" which I find upon the tableware of the early housewives of my country.

Much besides pottery do I gather from my quickly made acquaintanceships over a broken teapot or a Nankin bowl. Tales of pioneer life and hardship, sidelights upon familiar incidents of our national history, together with the ever personal stories of the great human comedy, are poured into my ears as I bargain at farmhouse door or in country kitchen for ancient treasure. "Those plates were on the table the day father entertained Governor Clinton and his party when they stopped here on a coaching tour through New York State to inspect the canals," explained a lonely old woman, with conscious pride. "I carried that teapot in my hands when we moved down from the farm, for fear the little swan would be broken off from the cover," said an aged housewife, with the feminine love for a China teapot glowing in her faded eyes—and there stood the dainty piece of Bristol still intact, with the graceful little swan still mounting guard over the fragrant Bohea. May its future owners be as gentle with this fragile treasure!

The story I have to tell is a hitherto unexploited romance of the pioneer days of our country, a tale of

transplanted old-world enterprise which failed to take deep root in the land of its adoption. I came to the knowledge of it quite by accident, through a chance remark. While on a china-hunting tour through the Niagara river region, a German woman, with whom I had bargained for her ancient treasures and heirlooms, handed me a small mottled, reddish-brown pitcher, saying:

"You may have that pitcher. It was made by my father many years ago, over at Bergholtz."

I carried the little plebeian brown pitcher home, placed it with my more showy lustres and rich blues, treasured in my memory the information as to its origin and resolved to follow up the trail.

The result of my investigations has been the discovery of the fact that not five miles from the spot where the Frenchman La Salle launched the *Griffon,* the first sailing vessel on the Great Lakes above Niagara Falls, a German potter in the middle of the last century set up his wheel, and using the clay of the neighboring fields, for nearly 40 years fashioned with his own hands a variety of crockery and tableware which for honest workmanship and artistic merit deserves a place beside the wares of any American potteries of his day.

In 1808 in Bruessow, a village near Berlin in Germany, was born Charles August Mehwaldt. He came of a line of potters; his father and grandfather before him had spent their lives at the potter's wheel. After he had learned the trade young Mehwaldt, as was the custom of the country, passed several years as a journeyman potter, his *wanderjahre,* in search of experience taking him over Russia and into the Holy Land. On his return to his home he found the country in a state of political unrest. Greater liberties were demanded by the people, while free America, beckoning across the sea, with an alluring hand, was welcoming many citizens of all classes into voluntary exile.

In 1844 a man of wealth, Williams by name, gathered together several families from the neighborhood about Bruessow and brought the little band to the United States. They bought a piece of land in Western New York on the Niagara frontier, cleared the timber and built a hamlet of log houses; and in 1847 they erected the still standing German Lutheran church. Remembering the village of Bergholtz from which many of them had come, they named the new home New Bergholtz—later dropping the "New."

Today this settlement consists of about 200 inhabitants, nearly all of German descent, with two German Lutheran churches, a general store, a postoffice and a blacksmith shop grouped about a village green. Set down in the midst of a foreign race, these people still cling to their own national tongue and manners, and it was not many years ago that a traveler, passing through this village, imagined himself in another land when he saw upon the feet of several of the inhabitants the wooden shoes of the German peasant.

Fired by the glowing accounts which came back to the Fatherland from this transplanted colony across the sea, in 1851 a second company was formed to follow the first, and among these people were the potter Mehwaldt, his wife and their five children. They set out in a sailing vessel. The voyage lasted seven weeks, and, as seems to have been the not uncommon fate of sailing vessels during those years, the ship ran ashore and was wrecked upon a sandbar off Long Island. The passengers were rescued by means of a tub, which ran on a cable from the mast to the shore, and the German party came on to Bergholtz, making the journey across New York State by way of the Erie Canal. Upon their arrival they found that the great epidemic of cholera of 1851 had visited the settlement, and had taken away many of their former associates.

Here Mehwaldt bought a log house and two acres of land and set up his pot works. His outfit was of the most primitive description, and consisted of a small brick oven for firing the clay in his back yard and a wooden kick-wheel. These, with his hands and his Old-World training, were all his capital, and here he worked alone at his trade until he died in 1887, at the age of 79 years.

The years during which Mehwaldt came to America and began his work belong to that period which has been called the dark ages of our nation's history. Human slavery was in practice. The Great West was a glittering lode-star to the adventurer. Railroad travel was in its infancy. American ceramic art had long been an established fact, and many potters had come from Europe to try our clays, among them James Clews and William Ridgway, authors of many of our best loved old blue dishes, but "the staples of ware fabricated on this continent are few and not of a high degree of perfection," wrote Horace Greeley in 1853, concerning the specimens of American-made pottery at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in New York City. It was not until that event, which proved to be the renaissance of the potter's art in the United States, the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, that this country fully awoke to the possibilities hidden in our soil.

As the Civil War drew near Mehwaldt's sons were swept away with patriotism for their adopted country. "They would go into the barn and sing patriotic songs all night long," said their sister, in telling me of her early life in her father's home. Finally, the three boys ran away and enlisted in the Northern army. Two of them met death on Southern battlefields; only the third returned home. As memorials to his dead soldier boys, the potter made two wreaths of clay flowers to hang upon the walls of the church, with the photographs and

the war records of the soldiers, and an American flag. Upon a little shelf above these ornaments stood a bouquet of immortelles under a glass dome. Upon these wreaths the potter seems to have lavished all the wealth of his artistic fancy. They are sixteen inches in diameter. The flowers were modeled from the common garden and wild flowers, which grew about his home—the sun flower, rose, daisy, myrtle, zinnia, water lily, buttercup—all massed within a bed of green leaves. Loving care and thought are felt in the modeling and arrangement of these flowers, leaves and buds, and each tiny petal and stamen was closely studied before being fashioned into clay. The colors were evidently put on after the wreath was fired; they are now somewhat faded and soiled, but were once no doubt the nearest approach to the colors of nature which the potter could command. These wreaths are not only unique and interesting examples of our pioneer ceramic art, but they are also mute witnesses of that tragic period of our national life.

For his church Mehwaldt also made a huge chandelier of clay which for many years was the chief artistic feature of the barn-like structure, and which is spoken of by the people of the village today as a marvel of achievement. The chandelier was about four feet in diameter and held two rows of candles. The large round central piece was surrounded by small scalloped saucers for holding the candles, and all were held together by festoons of coloured clay balls strung on wires. I rescued several of the pieces of this chandelier, as well as a pair of tall pewter altar candlesticks, from a heap of discarded objects in the church loft. The chandelier was made of coarse reddish clay, well modeled and colored, and the fragments show considerable originality and skill.

Mehwaldt made quantities of chimney crocks, earthenware crocks of all sizes, butter crocks, with handles, to

THE BUFFALO THEATER CUP.—See p. 176.

EXAMPLES OF BERGHOLTZ POTTERY.—See p. 60.

be hung in wells to keep the butter cool; cooking utensils, candlesticks, all manner of table-ware—platters, plates, sauce dishes, cups and saucers, mugs, pitchers, sugar bowls, vegetable dishes, teapots and teakettles—all either of reddish brown color, mottled with dark spots or of plain dark brown. This dark-colored table-ware would have suited the country housewife in the story who, weary with much dish-washing, drove to town one day for the express purpose of buying a set of dishes "that wouldn't show dirt."

These dishes resemble somewhat the brown mottled ware of the Bennington potteries, which was made about the same time, but they lack the rich green and blue shades and the hard metallic glaze of the Vermont specimens.

Potter Mehwaldt also fabricated several German tiled stoves, and quantities of milk pans. The pans were discarded, however, as soon as tin pans came into general use in the neighborhood. At Christmas-time he turned out many little dinner sets for children, and toys made in the form of pigs, owls, roosters and birds, with whistles in their tails. When these figures were filled with water the whistles gave out a variety of tones. An inkstand is of more elaborate workmanship than the table dishes. It is nine inches long and five inches high. Above the large space for penholders are two receptacles resting in holes in the top. One of these is for ink, and the other has a perforated top through which to scatter the sand which was used in those days in place of blotting paper. Each end of the stand is decorated with a rose blossom and branch in relief, while from the front hangs a row of heart-shaped figures. I have also seen a large bread-mixing bowl which he made, with the words "Give us this day our daily bread," in German lettering around the outer edge.

The clay which Mehwaldt found in that section was

of the common red kind, coarse in quality and required much working. "It was not like it was in the old country," said his son, in talking about the experiences of his early life. "It took father a long time to get the right mixture of sand. He had to experiment a great deal, and that meant a great loss. He first formed the wet clay into large lumps like cheeses, piled them on the floor of his workshop, and then took a circular knife and shaved them down very fine, and took out all of the stones and hard materials. He then worked the mixture on the floor with his bare feet. We boys helped with this, and it was pretty cold work in winter time. He then cut off small pieces of the clay and kneaded them on a table just as bread is kneaded. He had to get out every particle of stone or hard substance. All this was very hard work, and he said that if he were a young man he would get up some kind of a machine to do this work."

"We children helped to grind the lead for the glaze," said his daughter. "There was a large stone in one corner of the workroom. From the ceiling a pole was suspended, with a flat stone on the end of it, and this pole had to be kept going round and round in order to grind the lead in the tub. My brother and I would stand on chairs and take hold of the handles and get it round and round. We would count 100 and then rest. How our arms used to ache! I can imagine I feel it in my shoulders yet, I was that tired."

Red lead was used for the glaze, also tea lead which had been burned to ashes. Some of the lead was mixed with animal blood to give a darker glaze, and the mottled effect was produced by splashing the darker mixture upon the surface with a small brush. The potter either dipped the dishes into the glaze or poured the liquid over them from a cup. He tried to make blue ware and white ware, but was unsuccessful with the materials at hand.

Mehwaldt adopted no distinctive mark for his pottery. Several pieces have the letter M scratched in the biscuit, as if done with a sharp-pointed stick. The forms are simple and good and show little attempt at ornamentation. Several of the pitchers have rows of impressed lines around the top, while the more elaborate plates bear around the rim impressions which the potter made by pinching the soft clay between his thumb and forefinger, "just as we fix pie crust around the edge of a pie," explained his daughter.

The little shop for the sale of these wares was attached to one side of the potter's house, and many orders were filled for the neighboring towns. The ware sold for a low price. "A plate could be bought for two cents," said his daughter, "and pitchers varied in price according to size. A good one could be bought for ten cents."

In a recent pilgrimage to the little village I found a man who was a small boy at the time the potter came to this country, and who entertained me with stories of their long acquaintance. In his German-flavored English he told how many a time he had watched with Mehwaldt all night over the fires of the kilns. Soft wood was used for fuel, either pine or basswood, and the firing was an affair of over a day and a night, with constant watchers in attendance to keep the required temperature. "How sleepy we used to get watching the fires! If it got too hot, it bust; if it was too slow, they cracked," he said. The ruin of a kiln full of material was a serious loss in those days of poverty and struggle. He said that the American clay differed so materially from the clay which the potter had been using in Germany that much experiment and loss were necessary in order to get satisfactory results. He gave me a pantomimic account of the potter sitting at his wheel, kicking it with his feet to make it revolve, and pulling and shap-

ing the wet clay with his hands. He said that for two years before his death Mehwaldt was unable to work, as he had injured his feet by the constant effort required to turn the wheel.

That there was no one to carry on the business after his death was a source of great disappointment to the potter. "He was proud of his calling," said his daughter, "and would tell how many generations of his family had been potters, and he did not want the business to die with him." Upon his death, however, the works were destroyed and the house was sold. Today nothing remains of the once flourishing pottery which stood for so many years in the village except the pieces of the peculiar mottled ware still upon the shelves of nearly every home for miles around.

The museum of the Historical Society contains a few specimens of the Bergholtz pottery, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. George H. Camehl.

THE OLD NIAGARA CAR

Its Story Told by the Late Judge T. G. Hulett

An object that never fails to attract the attention and arouse the curiosity of visitors at the Historical Building, is the "iron basket," or car, constructed to carry people across the Niagara gorge below the Falls, before there was any bridge. It was suspended from a wire cable, and was used by workmen, constructing the first bridge, and also by many adventurous sightseers. It was made by Theodore Graves Hulett of Niagara Falls, who many years ago, at the request of the Buffalo Historical Society, wrote out the story of it. Judge Hulett's narrative has never been published, and is here drawn upon, with some condensation, for the history of this unique relic.

"During the winter of 1846 the State of New York granted a charter to the International Bridge Company to build a suspension bridge across the river. The same winter a charter was granted in Canada to the Niagara Falls Bridge Company of Canada West, for a similar purpose. These two corporations formed a joint board of directors, and entered into a contract with Charles Ellet, Jr., a noted engineer and bridge builder of Philadelphia, to build a wire railroad suspension bridge across the Niagara river about two miles below the Falls.

"In the latter part of January, 1847, Mr. Ellet arrived at Niagara Falls and took rooms at the Eagle Tavern. The inhabitants of the little village were all astir, and many hastened to the tavern to see the distinguished

engineer and pick up the news. The writer was one of these curious citizens. While discussing with others the prospective 'boom' for our town, the bell-boy of the hotel came to me and said: " 'There's a gentleman in the parlor that wishes to see you.'

"I at once hastened to the parlor, where in a rocking-chair, sat a tall, intellectual-looking gentleman, with black hair and penetrating black eyes. On my approach he arose, introduced himself and asked if this was Mr. Hulett. I said it was, whereupon he asked me to be seated. I took a rocking-chair, similar in construction to the one occupied by Mr. Ellet.

"He then told me of his business; said he had contracted to build a wire suspension railroad bridge across the river at this place, and that I had been recommended to him as a competent person to take charge of all that was iron on the structure, as he was building a similar structure at Wheeling, Va., and would have to be absent a part of the time. After some conversation, I engaged myself in the capacity required.

"Then Mr. Ellet went on to state the mode of procedure. The first thing to be done, he said, was to establish some means of communication across the gorge, without the trouble and expense of going to Queenston, seven miles, which was the only practicable crossing place. 'First,' said he, 'I intend to erect two wooden towers, 25 feet in height, one on either bank. Over and across these towers I propose to stretch a wire cable made of 36 strands of No. 10 wire; this cable to be stretched over these towers, with a deflection of 25 feet; and on this cable we will place a saddle, or yoke, with two grooved wheels, and a car or basket, suspended, large enough to carry two persons with their necessary tools. This basket will be moved from either side by a drum geared to a crank-shaft.

" 'Now,' said the engineer, 'the first thing to consider

is, what kind of a basket or car can be constructed, that will have sufficient strength, and of the least possible weight?' As he said this, he showed me a sketch of a car constructed of wood, that he had calculated would weigh not to exceed 150 pounds. I then suggested iron, instead of wood, for the structure. He objected, that it would be too heavy. I gave my opinion that it could be built of iron so as to have greater strength, and less weight, than wood.

"Mr. Ellet then suggested that I should design a basket of iron, he would design one of wood, and calculate the strength of both. This was done, and it was found that my iron structure weighed ten pounds less than his wooden one. This settled the question of the iron basket.

"Then came the question of form, as Mr. Ellet seemed desirous that it should be symmetrical. Both of us were sitting in rocking-chairs. I arose, and requested Mr. Ellet to do so. The two chairs were drawn together, and I said: 'There is the form of your basket!' To which the engineer replied: 'That shall be its form.'

" 'But can you find a man on whom you can depend, to construct this car?'

" 'I can,' I replied, 'for I can do it myself, and will.' This settled the question of the car or basket.

"The engineer then explained that the basket cable was preliminary to another construction, which was to precede the main structure. This was to be, the erection of two wooden towers on either bank of the gorge, 75 feet in height and 30 feet apart. Two cables of 75 strands of No. 10 wire, were to be carried across the gorge, resting on these towers, and the cables to be spread four feet apart on each tower. Across these cables, on either side, at intervals of six feet, were to be placed transversely strips of pine wood three by two inches, and over these strips were to be placed two

strands of No. 10 wire, with loops at their lower ends, to receive light pine needle-beams, on which to lay a flooring of one-inch pine boards. When these two independent bridges were constructed, they were to be drawn together, giving the cables a lateral curve of about 15 feet on either side; and from this temporary structure a more permanent one was to be supplied one foot beneath, with appropriate suspenders attached to the cables above, thus forming a substantial platform, wholly independent of the preliminary structure, from which the railroad bridge was to be built.

"It was while these temporary platforms were being constructed that an incident occurred that gives the iron basket some distinction as a life-saving device.

"The north platform had been finished and hung to the two cables, four feet in width, without any side railings, and was being used by a few venturesome persons; and the south platform had been carried out about 200 feet from the cliffs on either side, when a sudden gale struck the swinging platform, which seemingly tore the unfinished structure into shreds, throwing the unfinished platforms over and across the little basket-cable that hung in the center between the two swinging platforms. This destruction was but the work of a moment; and four workmen were caught on the wreck, hanging to these slender wires, with no foot-rest except the edge of shifting debris of the flooring, swinging to and fro for 50 feet.

"These unfortunates had to ride out the gale in that situation. When the wind subsided, I asked: 'Who will volunteer to go out in the basket and rescue these men?'

'A brave young man named William Ellis stepped forward and said, 'I am your man.'

"A short ladder was placed across the iron basket, and Ellis stepped into it from the tower. He was instructed to take off but one at a time, as the amount

of weight resting on the little cable could not be estimated.

"Out rolled the basket to the first man, who by means of the ladder safely reached it; but the intrepid rescuer could not withstand the cries of the others for immediate relief. Sympathy overrode his discretion—and my instructions. One by one the four men were gathered into the basket, making five in all, with the ladder hanging beneath. This scene was paralyzing to those on shore, who feared the little cable would part before the overloaded basket could be hauled to shore. But it held, and Ellis and the four men were saved from a fall of 160 feet into the rapids beneath. When Ellis was asked why he took such chances, when instructed to the contrary, he replied: 'I took the chance of saving my comrades, or going with them.'

"May not this basket be called the pioneer 'life-saving device' for its service on this October 10, 1848?

"The basket continued in use until the second platform was completed. This was eight feet wide with a lattice railing woven into the suspenders, and was used for ten years as a road bridge, and until the railroad bridge was constructed by J. A. Roebling in 1858, when the wooden towers and all of the original structure were removed, and the iron basket was suspended under the piers of the bridge approach, a relic of the pioneer bridge over the Niagara gorge.

"Of the thousands who crossed the gorge in this basket, three-fourths at least were women. On one day, 125 persons crossed, 80 of them women. The basket was designed to seat comfortably two persons, facing each other, though often four persons would crowd in. If ladies were seen passing over by other ladies, there were no arguments that husbands, brothers or lovers could make that would restrain their desire to make the novel trip.

"The basket was suspended from an iron yoke or carriage, constructed with two iron flange rollers that rolled on the top of the cable. The first passage was in the spring of 1848. Mr. Ellet mounted the tower, and seating himself in the basket alone, gave orders to let loose the windlass. The basket went down the grade with great speed until it reached the up-grade on the opposite side, which slackened its speed. All at once it came to a standstill. The engineer was seen to stand on the edge of the basket, holding to the cable above, as if examining the cause of stoppage. Soon after he signaled to the shore, to have the basket drawn back. It was found that the trouble was the flattening of the cable at the point of stoppage, which caused the flange of the rollers to ride upon and settle between the parted wires. New and wider sheaves were put upon the carriage, and the first crossing was made by Mr. Ellet and the writer. This was in April, 1849.

"The preliminary means of hauling over the first cable was a kite string. The writer offered ten dollars to the boy who would get a kite string across the river of sufficient strength to haul over a rope the size of a clothesline. This premium brought a regiment of kite flyers into the field, and a boy named Homan Walsh won the prize, which I gladly paid. From this small beginning the great suspension bridge resulted.

"Mr. Ellet the engineer became General Ellet, who conceived and built the famous 'ram' boats on the Mississippi during the Civil War and who was killed by a flying splinter while his boat was passing a rebel battery. I think of no one else connected with the construction except myself and William Ellis, the gallant 'captain' of the iron basket, who are now living."

The foregoing was written by Judge Hulett in 1890. The basket which he made is six feet long at the top,

THE OLD NIAGARA CAR.—See p. 69.

and three feet wide. It is made of strips of band iron, varying in width from an inch to an inch and a half, well riveted together. The seats are of wood, designed for two passengers to sit, facing each other. The charge for crossing the gorge in the basket was one dollar. It is related that on one occasion Millard Fillmore was visiting the Falls with a vivacious young lady, who insisted that they cross the gorge by this means. Mr. Fillmore, who was as far as possible from being an adventurous soul, objected and protested. The young woman was equally firm, and finally, declaring that she was going over anyway, stepped into the basket. Her dignified companion, too gallant to permit her to go alone, silently took his seat, and together they made the passage, she in ecstacy, he in dignified silence and perhaps frozen with fear. This was a few years before he was elected Vice President, becoming President a month after election; but at the time he made this fearsome excursion, he was a recognized leader in Congress and may have felt himself too necessary to his country to risk his neck in a contraption seemingly so precarious. It is not recorded that there ever was a serious accident to the basket or its passengers, except as above related by Judge Hulett.

There are conflicting claims as to who was the first passenger to cross the gorge in the basket. Priority has been claimed for Miss Jane Redfield, of Batavia. According to other and more circumstantial accounts the first passenger was Mrs. Sarah Childs, wife of Orson Childs, builder of the original International Hotel, at Niagara Falls, N. Y. Her father was named Pierce, a veteran of the War of 1812, and a long-time resident of the Niagara region. According to Mrs. Childs' reminiscences, published in a newspaper of Milwaukee some 40 years ago, she was living with her father at his hotel when the bridge work was begun. When the cable was

stretched and basket ready, one of the engineers who lodged at her father's house said to her: "I'll wager you a five-dollar gold piece that you haven't the spunk to be swung across in the basket!"

Mrs. Childs was young and fond of adventure. "Done!" she said. "I'll go." Neither her father nor her husband were present, but her four-year old little girl was with her. Taking the youngster, Mrs. Childs climbed into the basket. The man standing by protested, but she said, "The little girl shall go too," and was allowed to have her way about it. The trip over and back was made in safety, although the little one cried in a spasm of fright, and Mrs. Childs admitted afterward that she was a good deal scared herself. The daughter in after years became Mrs. David Cabeen, residing, at last accounts, in Milwaukee.

The claim of priority for Miss Redfield has been made for many years. She was the third daughter of Heman J. Redfield, a prominent citizen of Batavia, and married Mr. Lawrence Turnure of New York. Her death occurred many years ago.

No doubt both of these young women crossed Niagara in the iron basket; but which crossed first, who can say? And one might add: What of it?

Homan Walsh, who got the first string across the gorge by kite flying, lived to a good age, died in Lincoln, Neb., March 8, 1899, and his body was brought to Niagara Falls, his boyhood home, for burial. "The train that carried it," wrote Orrin G. Dunlap, "passed over the steel arch built on the site where a half century before he had stood on the river bank and flew his kite to connect the cliffs by the slender cord held in his hand. . . . Little did Homan Walsh think that his kite string was building a path that would lead him from his Western home to the grave."[1]

1. "The Romance of Niagara Bridges," *The Strand Magazine*, Nov., 1899.

THE ORIGINAL TYPEWRITER

An object that never fails to interest visitors is the first typewriting machine. To be a little more precise, it is one of the first five which were made at one time, and were the first that were put to practical use.

Of earlier typewriting machines, that never advanced beyond the stage of experimentation, note will be made later on. This machine, which was presented to the Buffalo Historical Society in 1889 by Julius H. Dawes, a former president of the society, was the invention of C. L. Sholes of Milwaukee, who spent several years of labor and study in developing his ideas.

The first form which he attempted was a flat table, in which the type bars struck up through an opening in the top, against paper passed in a flat frame under a fixed platen an inch or two square.

A platen, it may not be wholly superfluous to explain, is the part of a machine by which an impression is made. In a printing press it is a flat plate, or a cylinder. In the modern perfected typewriter, the feed roller which carries the paper and receives the impression of the type, is virtually the platen.

When, after many experiments and discouragements the form now shown was determined on, it was believed that success had been reached, and the five machines above mentioned were made, entirely by hand, and sent to men who had long watched the experiments with interest. They were all crude—big, clumsy, box-like affairs, as our picture shows. One went to California, one to Connecticut, one to Pennsylvania; one—this one —was sent by Mr. Sholes to Mr. Dawes; and the fifth was retained by Mr. Sholes and his partner, Mr. Glidden.

This machine reached its home in the law office of Dawes Brothers, Fox Lake, Wis., July 11, 1873, and for many years it there did excellent work and a great deal of it.

It at first contained much since discarded and lost. The paper carrier was moved to the left by a clumsy clock spring (without fusee compensation), and to the right by a still more clumsy pedal. The ribbon-carrying apparatus was very complicated, and has been removed, wheel after wheel, until now none of the original system is left. For the last year or so of active service, ink was taken from a sheet, as wide as the keyboard, fixed on rollers and requiring to move only once a line instead of for every letter. This worked well, but as it was probably never put on any machine, and was no part of the original invention, it is now removed as not entitled to a place in typewriter history. The same reasoning would exclude the lever and the weight used to move the paper carrier; but they are left in place to show that the machine can still move, and that the vital parts of the Sholes and Glidden machine and now of the Remington, are still here.

Clumsy as it looks, the old machine proved practicable for many years. The modern operator usually exclaims in amusement at its size. The wooden frame—it is really a box—is 20 inches long by 16 inches wide. The keyboard is 13 inches wide and the keys are three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Yet the type face, all capitals, was small, neat and legible, with good alignment, until long use and hard use brought deterioration. A sample of its writing is preserved with the machine.

This old machine was loaned by the Buffalo Historical Society, on request, for exhibition at the Paris Exposition of 1889. In good time it came back, none the worse for its travels.

This is no place to undertake a history of the type-

writer, but a few leading facts touching its evolution may be set down. It is an American invention. Some digger in dusty lore has found record that in England, in the reign of Queen Anne, a patent was granted to one Henry Mills for "An Artificial Machine or Method for Impressing or Transcribing Letters, Singly or Progressively one after another as in Writing, whereby all Writing whatever may be Engrossed on Paper or Parchment, so Neat and Exact as not to be distinguished from Print."

It sounds well; and the ancient printing of the record, with many capitals and much emphasis of italics, not only brings the quaint and pleasing flavor of distant days, but rather impresses the reader with the antiquity of the typewriter as an invention. Absolutely nothing however, is known—beyond the above statement—of Henry Mills' machine. It probably was a dream, a project, never realized. For more than a hundred years after Mills, there is found no word or proof to show that anyone was trying to achieve a mechanical writer.

Then we come to America, where William Austin Burt of Detroit, in 1829, devised what he called a typographer. In some respects it was the prototype of modern machines, but it never got beyond the experimental stage. Neither did the "Ktypograph" which Xavier Projean, a Frenchman, devised in 1833. This was the lineal ancestor of the present key-lever machine, but was never sufficiently perfected to be practicable, and, apparently was never manufactured. A few years later, in 1843, patents were granted to Charles Thurber of Worcester, Mass., for a machine a model of which is preserved by the Worcester Society of Antiquarians. Later still other patents were granted to Mr. Thurber. If any one, prior to C. Lapham Sholes, is entitled to be called the originator of the modern typewriter, it is, apparently, Charles Thurber, for there were many practical fea-

tures about his models. His patent shows and describes a movable carriage, a spacing key for use between words, and other devices, some of which appear in modern machines.

In 1852 a patent was granted to one J. Jones, apparently for improvements on the machine devised by Thurber. These included a feed roll in place of the flat platen, and a spring for returning the carriage.

In the years that followed several other forms appeared. A. E. Beach, in 1856, devised a machine for impressing embossed letters on a strip of paper for the blind. The strip of paper was wound by clockwork which was liberated by an escapement at each stroke of the key. In this machine, for the first time, a movable inking ribbon was used. Two improvements claimed by Mr. Beach were of great importance: Causing type to strike at a common center, and connecting each of the type keys with the escapement by a common connection. These two features are found in every key typewriter today.

In 1857 patents were granted to a Mr. Francis for devices somewhat resembling those of Beach, but still no machine is devised that will stand the test of use. A writer in the *American Inventor,* (Aug., 1905), reviewing the evolution of the typewriter, summed up some phases of its development as follows:

"Looking back along the line it is surprising how many of the main elements had been devised by the beginning of the sixties. The circular type basket, a keyboard, a paper roll on a carriage, a spring for pulling it, escapement dogs, a spacing key, the carbon ribbon and the signal bell; and yet with it all the machines were not a success. . . . It seems as if there were enough hints and suggestions for any one to work out an operative, practical machine; yet it must be remembered that these experiments in reality were widely separated,

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LINK OF THE GREAT WEST POINT CHAIN.—See p. 159.

THE FIRST TYPEWRITER.—See p. 77.

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and that as none of the devices got any public use, there was very slight if any acquaintance with what had been done before; each man had therefore to attack the problem anew, with practically no foundation to build on. In each case the idea of a machine to do writing probably came to the inventor as an entirely new conception, original with him.

"It was probably in this light that C. Lapham Sholes, Samuel W. Soulé and Carlos Glidden looked upon it some ten years later than the date of the Francis typewriter. Mr. Sholes and Mr. Soulé were working on a numbering machine. 'Why can't such a machine write letters and words?' suggested Mr. Griffon; and thus the matter rested for six months.

"It is significant of the little appreciation even the technical world evinced of what had been before accomplished that the impetus that started the trio into devising a writing machine came partly from an article describing one of the craziest of all 'typographers'—a machine invented and patented by John Pratt, of Alabama, which was *designed* to do all Mr. Glidden had suggested but which was a radical departure from all that had gone before, a reversal, a 'throw back,' miles behind even the Burt machine of '47 in practicality. Its main features were a 'type plate' having the type arranged in horizontal rows, the type plate being carried on a vertical bar, and movable either horizontally, vertically or diagonally, to bring any character into position. Key letters were used to shift the plate, and a hammer struck the paper against the type. The paper was held in a frame shifted by cords, pulleys and an escapement wheel. It was an excellent example of how not to do it. It is not to be forgotten, however, that this 'Pterotype' of John Pratt's, while it was wild and impractical, had in it the germ of an idea which was afterwards to be worked out successfully. The mechan-

ism for moving the type plate faintly foreshadowed the type wheel-moving key mechanism, and indeed led John Pratt some twenty years later to devise a typewriter having a type wheel and keys.

"An editorial on this 'Pterotype' in the *Scientific American,* which spoke of the rewards in store for the successful inventor gave the necessary jog which started Mr. Sholes off on the hunt for the successful typewriting mechanism. He invited Glidden and Soulé to join him, and together they worked it out, Mr. Soulé suggesting the pivotal cycle of type bars, a construction already broadly devised as we have seen, and Mr. Sholes furnishing the letter-spacing device, escapement dogs operating on a rack—another recrudescence of an old idea. Mathias Schwalbach, a skilled mechanic and inventor, was also called in, and between them a machine was finally turned out of practically the same appearance as the first Sholes typewriter. It was big, ungainly, cumbersome, but it wrote accurately and with fair rapidity, and it contained fundamentally the same mechanism as the Remington typewriter of today, notwithstanding the difference in appearance.

"Five years elapsed between the suggestion of Glidden and the appearance of a practical machine, and they were years of hard labor and a thousand disappointments, when model after model broke down under the strain of work under service conditions. Meanwhile Soulé and Glidden had dropped out, and very probably Sholes himself would have given up, but that he was backed and encouraged and pushed by a practical man, Mr. James Densmore, a man not only of practicality, but also with imagination enough to see the importance of the work. The story of these five years was a story of repeated failures, and of as often repeated attacks on the problem. It is a story every inventor should take to heart—and every backer, too. The lesson is that

there is a vast gulf between a crude idea and commercial practicability—a matter inventors in their enthusiasm are apt to forget—but that the gulf can be bridged by hard work."

The Sholes machine owned by the Buffalo Historical Society, was made, as already stated, in 1873. It appears probable that Mr. Dawes, in whose office it was used, and who in later years was president of this society, was a financial backer of Sholes. The next year the first machines were put upon the market. Except in minor details, and in compactness, they differed little from the machine shown in our illustration. It was of this early type, made by E. Remington & Sons of Ilion, N. Y., that Mark Twain wrote:

"This early machine was full of caprices, full of defects—devilish ones. It had as many immoralities as the machine of today has virtues. After a year or two I found it was degrading my character, so I thought I would give it to Howells. He was reluctant, for he was suspicious of novelties and unfriendly toward them, and he remains so to this day. But I persuaded him. He had great confidence in me, and I got him to believe things about the machine that I did not believe myself. He took it home to Boston, and my morals began to improve; but his have never recovered. He kept it six months and then returned it to me. I gave it away twice after that, but it wouldn't stay; it came back. Then I gave it to our coachman, Patrick McAleer, who was very grateful because he did not know the animal, and thought I was trying to make him wiser and better. As soon as he got wiser and better he traded it to a heretic for a side-saddle which he could not use, and there my knowledge of its history ends."

With the slow progress of the typewriter towards commercial success, we are not here concerned. It is one of the monumental successes of our age and has come into well nigh universal use.

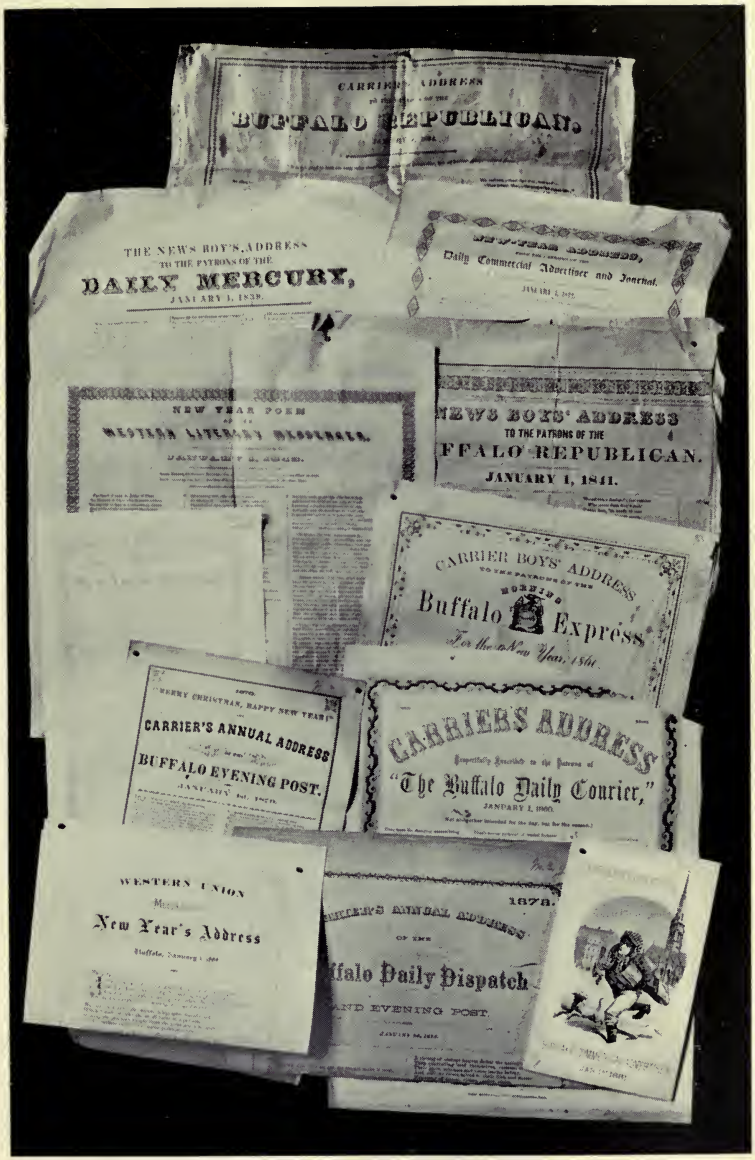
CARRIER'S ADDRESSES

The Buffalo Historical Society preserves an interesting collection of Carrier's Addresses of long past years.

A Carrier's Address, be it stated for the benefit of ignorant and unfortunate folk of recent birth, was a greeting sent out on New Year's day by a newspaper to its patrons. This greeting, in olden time, usually took the form of an original poem, more or less elaborately printed. The carrier boy, who through the year had left his paper, daily or weekly, at the threshold of the subscriber, on New Year's morning pulled the doorbell, cried "Happy New Year" to whoever opened, presented the greeting with the compliments of the publisher, and lingered for a tip.

The times are changed. It is true that in Buffalo it is still the custom of the carrier boy, on New Year's Day, to linger for a tip, as he offers a calendar, to which useful but uninspired form the old Carrier's Address has degenerated. But in the earlier years of our city, the custom had a fine personal touch, the loss of which, in this as in many other ways, is one of the penalties a town suffers for growing large.

Buffalo's first newspaper, the *Gazette,* came from the press October 3, 1811. Probably, in those beginning years, life was too strenuous to waste time and thought on anything so unessential as the distribution of a poem at New Year's—or any other day. From 1812 to 1815, Mars rather than Euterpe or Calliope ruled the region. Indeed we find no records to indicate that there was time or taste for the cultivation of poetry in Buffalo until 1826. True, the Irish minstrel, Tom Moore, had penned stanzas in Buffalo in 1804, but he was adventiti-



SOME OLD-TIME CARRIER'S ADDRESSES.

ous, not indigenous. If Buffalo publishers paid their compliments to subscribers in poetry prior to 1826, that interesting contribution to local history is yet to be discovered. The outstanding events in Buffalo history from the end of the War of 1812, down to the date named, are, the making of Buffalo harbor, the building and wreck of the Walk-in-the-Water, the coming of the Erie Canal, the visit of General Lafayette, and the hanging of the three Thayers. The list is not especially suggestive of poetry; and yet, on New Year's Day, 1826, Buffalo's two little rival weekly newspapers, the *Journal* and the *Emporium and General Advertiser,* each made elaborate contributions to the infant literature of the community, with a Carrier's Address of no mean literary quality.

The *Journal's* offering was written by John C. Lord, then a youth in his twenty-first year, who, after graduating from Hamilton College, and two years of editorial work in Canada, had come to Buffalo in 1825, entering the office of Love & Tracy, then the leading law firm in Western New York. It was not until 1828 that he was admitted to the bar. In that year he was taken into partnership with Judge Love, and married Mary Johnson, whose father, Dr. Ebenezer Johnson, became in 1832 the first Mayor of Buffalo. Abandoning the law, young Lord entered Auburn Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1833; and in 1835 became pastor of the newly organized Pearl street Presbyterian church, which later became and continues to be, though far from the scene of its early activities, the Central Presbyterian church of Buffalo. The old Central, at Pearl and Genesee streets, was the pulpit of his pastorate until shortly before his death in 1877; but the whole city was his parish, and his fame as preacher, orator and poet became national. Buffalo has had few

citizens who filled a larger part in its intellectual and moral life, than Dr. John C. Lord.

The opening stanza of the address which the youthful John Lord wrote for the *Journal,* suggests that at least one New Year's address had preceded it:

> Another year is numbered with the past!
> Before the public I again appear,
> At once to sound the requiem of the last,
> And hail the dawning of the coming year.
> Patrons, howe'er your various lots are cast
> In this rough world—to each may this day be
> A day of gladness and festivity.

This is a fair example of the entire long poem—too long to include here. Its measures are smoothly metered, fluent, sometimes dignified, sometimes clever, but never, as one might expect of printing office poetry written to order, mere jingle or doggerel. John C. Lord, as later years were to show, had the true poet's vision, combined with an uncommon facility of expression. In this address he plainly sought not to be ponderous and impressive, but to please his patrons with a light touch. He had a sense of the fitness of things. How many youths of twenty-one can so well picture things as they are:

> Men have not altered since "a year ago."
> Fair faces and false hearts. The ancient sinner
> Directs his honest friend to wait below,
> Because, forsooth, his worship's taking dinner.
> In short, the world remains "in statu quo":
> Fools still talk wisely; wise men hold their tongues,
> And save at once their credit and their lungs.

There are bright allusions to recent events, to the visit of Lafayette, a few months previous; then, with easy transition, he writes of Buffalo:

> . . . 'Tis said that Buffalo
> Is soon to be a city, and I know—

No reason why she should not. The foundation
Of Ararat we lately helped to fix,
And have had other public celebrations,
(According to my note book sixty-six.)
And have a right to make our calculations
On future greatness. There is something pretty
And quite harmonious in the name of "city."

The year hath been to us a Jubilee,
A year of great rejoicing; we have seen
Lake Erie's waters moving toward the sea
On their own element. The bark I deem
Which bore our gift, more famous yet shall be,
Than that proud ship in which to ancient Greece
The intrepid Jason bore the Golden Fleece.

Yet boast we not of mighty labors done
In our own strength or wisdom; we would bless
His sacred name in morning orison
Who stamped His footstep on the wilderness,
And towns and cities rose—the busy hum
Of congregated man, where erst He viewed
One dark and boundless solitude.

And the white sail now glistens on the Lake,
Where late the Indian in his bark canoe,
Bursting from some low marsh or tangled brake,
Shot forth upon the waters joyously,
Perchance his annual hunting tour to make,
Where since the cultivated field, I ween,
That savage mariner himself hath seen.

My Muse is wearied; but ere she retires,
We would remind you Patrons, while stern winter
Convenes around your hospitable fires
Your friends and family—to pay the printer,
Ere the last faggot on *his* hearth expires.

The poem which the rival paper, the *Emporium and General Advertiser,* distributed on this New Year's Day of 1826, was not in the same class as Dr. Lord's. Its author is not known to the writer of these notes. If length were a merit it would rate well, for it fills more than a column, as printed in the *Emporium* of Saturday,

January 6th; but a mediocre poem becomes increasingly bad in proportion to its length. It is written in a variety of meters, skips about over the world at large, is by turns Byronic and ironic, but never quite strikes fire. A few sample lines, in a style that prevailed in the early years of our literature, will suffice:

> Unmoved by monarch's frowns or dark intrigue,
> Unawed by Europe's scourge, the Holy League,
> Columbia boasts of Freedom; and in spite
> Of tyrants holds on high a beacon's light;
> Gleaming on distant lands where darkness reigns;
> Inspiring slaves to break oppression's chains.
> 'Tis Freedom's flame; nor shall it cease to glow,
> While Freedom's cause on earth shall find a foe.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Now to our Patrons—happiness and cheer;
> Health, peace and joy, attend you round this year;
> And many like it may you live to see:
> Columbia hails it, Freedom's joyful jubilee!

It was a courteous and cheerful if not conspicuously poetic tail to a hifalutin' kite. One can perhaps imagine, if he is gifted with a picturing mind, how the boys of that distant New Year's morning, ninety-six years ago, trotted about through the unpaved, often slushy or snowy streets, leaving these poetic offerings where their patrons resided—in the fine old residential quarter of Seneca, Swan and the Division streets, up to Eagle, and on Main and Pearl and Franklin below Chippewa, and around Niagara Square. It was a compact little town of 2,500 souls, without railroads, with nothing faster in travel than Coe's stages,—and the vast but vexing era of wire as yet undreamed of. People had time in those days, to read poetry, even of the Carrier's Address variety.

Not to be outdone by its Buffalo rivals, the *Black Rock Gazette,* on this same New Year's of 1826, also

sent out a Carrier's Address. This paper had been started, something more than a year previous, by Bartemas Ferguson; but in 1825 Smith H. Salisbury, one of the founders of the Buffalo *Gazette* in 1811, had bought the Black Rock paper. There was still uncertainty as to which of the rival towns was to be the future great city. For a time it looked as if Black Rock had the lead, and Smith Salisbury evidently wanted to be where business was coming fastest and thickest. He made a good newspaper of the *Black Rock Gazette*—according to the standards and conditions of the time. Guy H. Salisbury was the carrier boy for his father's paper, and New Year's Day of 1826 was his fifteenth birthday. Had he been older, one would suspect him of being the author of the poem which he distributed that day. Possibly he was its author, for he was precocious and gifted as a writer, as subsequent years were to show. But this New Year's greeting shows a familiarity with world events, and a grasp of conditions of the hour, not reasonably to be looked for in a youth of his years. Besides, it isn't really poetry, and we feel confident that if Guy Salisbury, at any age, wrote verse, it would be poetry as well. Probably his father was responsible for this—shall we say, the first flower of poetry that bloomed in Black Rock's somewhat barren soil.

The opening lines make the proper salute to patrons, and touch on one phase of the War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier which still—almost a century later—waits to be properly "written up": that is, the long-continued efforts of settlers on the frontier to get remuneration for their losses in the war:

> Last night Old Time fresh trimmed his silvered locks
> And launched another *Year* from off the stocks;
> His power-clad arm again revolves the glass,
> While newsmen note the shadows as they pass.

Patrons and Friends, may Heaven's choicest boon,
Fresh rosy-color'd health, be yours, and soon
Your pockets fill'd with cash—your barns with grain,
And Winter's fleecy robe bedeck the plain;
Then all will flourish, merry as the bell
That hails the bride, fast bound in wedlock's holy spell.

Permit the bard to glance at years gone by,
When smoky ruin veil'd the wintry sky,
Spread as a pall its darkening shade around,
And nought was heard save the plaintive moan,
The anguished scream and the dying groan,
Mingled with Indian yell, and foeman's bugle sound.

The cotter's roof and e'en the house of prayer
Was one wide blazing ruin—bleak and bare.
The houseless wanderers cheerless rov'd,
Driven by foes from all held dear and lov'd.
For years they pray'd in vain, their country's aid,
And told their tale of woe—the debt unpaid
Had still remained, but for the magic power
Of him, who even in the darkest hour
Stood forth, the champion of Niagara's wrong,
And chang'd the sufferer's woes to cheerful song.
Tracy, to thee, the grateful strain is due—
Who, with a patriot heart, and purpose ever true,
Wrench'd, as a boon, what was the claimant's due.

In the approved (or, as the fashion then was for words that permitted it, "approv'd)" style of old-time Addresses, the course of world events is then reviewed, as tedious, if not so long, as Pollock's "Course of Time." "Haughty Spain" is dismissed with a line or two; so is "scheming Russia." Germany is scored in that she "would play the pander's part"; and so around the circle of effete kingdoms and toppling thrones, in the good old spread-eagle style; but Greece is acclaimed as was the American custom at that period:

Strike bravely, Greece, while over earth and sea
The paean swells, the brave shall e'er be free!

After ticketing off a few more countries, including

The Canadas, so long to interest blind,

and even South American struggles,

Led by triumphant Bolivar, Victory's son,

the poet gets down to brass tacks, as they say in Black Rock today, and begins to sing of matters nearer home:

"The rights of man" let Europe's kings deride,
We'll safely guard the boon for which forefathers died.
How proudly stands New York! her grand canal,
As rolls his finish'd course, proclaims "How well."
A Single State, surmounting nature's laws,
Completes a work, commands the world's applause;
Nor last, nor least, in this stupendous plan
Stands Black Rock Harbor—honor to the man
Who 'gainst a host undaunted kept his course,
Though slander's pen assail'd him—sad resource,
For Truth's bright beam dispell'd the misty gloom,
And envy howling weeps o'er Falsehood's tomb.

All of which must have helped to set General Peter B. Porter firmly on his pedestal in the Hall of Fame.

The concluding lines of this somewhat unique (if a thing "unique" can be somewhat so!) Address to newspaper patrons deal with the very substance and essence of poetry:

The harbor's secure, her bosom bears in pride
The wealth of the Lakes, let its foes now deride.
We'll take another course and wish them well.
That Pier and Dam, may both withstand the swell
Of storm and flood, and e'en the wintry ice,
That was to work destruction in a trice.
So said, at least, the editorial corps—
A word with them, and then our task is o'er.
May the *Journal* be clothed in the mantle of truth,
And the *Patriot* emulate Greece in her youth;
The *Emporium's* columns be void of offence,
Nor mistake for *attack* what is only *defense.*
Patrons and friends, accept our wish sincere,
That you all may enjoy a Happy New Year.

BLACK ROCK, January 1st, 1826.

A year later the *Gazette* repeated its New Year's performance, but the extracts from the "poem," as printed in the regular issue for January 6, 1827, contain no lines that clamor for quotation.

In June, 1830, Horace Steele began the publication of a weekly paper in Buffalo which he named the *Working Men's Bulletin.* In December of that year the name became *Buffalo Bulletin;* and on the following New Year's morning the *Bulletin* carrier—there appears to have been but one of him—left on the doorsteps a poem of about 500 lines, which as subsequently published filled three columns of the *Bulletin.* It is a rhymed review of the great events of the time, prefaced with this ingenuous introduction, as from the carrier boy:

> There's no relief—the printer's devil,
> That office imp, who cuts all capers,
> And bears all blame for good and evil
> That we e'er publish in our papers,
> Swears I, the Carrier, shall appear
> In rhyme—my subject the New Year.
> And here I am with this address,
> He got some poet man to write—
> 'Tis mine, though, patrons, ne'ertheless;
> I paid the fellow's bill at sight—
> A worky *buys*—he never borrows—
> So this address is *mine* that follows.

Who was the "poet man" on this occasion we cannot say. One naturally suspects the editor for much of it is the average newspaper editorial, cleverly metered and rhymed. It is curious, now, to scan these lines and note how seriously, how bitterly even, they took their politics ninety years ago. After many lines devoted to Jackson reform, to Clay and the working men, the not greatly inspired writer rambles off to Greece, Turkey, the Balkans—even then, the Balkans! What a boon they have been to space fillers!—and finally gets around,

as was the fashion in those days, to take a crack at Great Britain:

> Another wears thy crown, proud mistress of the sea—
> What noble act did he that's gone, worthy himself or thee?
> Let the dead sleep—not so the act and deed
> That lifts to fame or damns to infamy—
> Their memories who have died for Freedom's creed,
> Claim first amid our joys, the tribute of the free.

Not the most lucid of statements, but evidently an allusion to the death of George IV., and the accession of his successor, William IV. If the "poet man" of the *Bulletin* could have looked into the future, as of course poets should, he would have seen foreshadowed in the accession of William, the great Reform Bill, which was not only to extend the suffrage but usher in a truly democratic era in English politics. It took American editors a long time to see the democratic principle in English government. Some of them haven't seen it yet.

But if the *Bulletin's* greeting on this long gone New Year's Day was hard on England, it was cordiality itself towards France:

> France! Chivalrous France! on this our holy-day,
> Thee, and thy sons, we rapturously greet!

And after many lines, more or less rapturous, he ends his poetic labors with a climacteric that in those days was sure to win "the applause of the populace":

> Where e'er the rights of man are claimed as yet—
> *There* lives our country's friend, the patriot LaFayette.

This New Year's greeting of the *Bulletin* was a pretty fair sample of many of them, at that period.

No doubt there were many of these Carrier's Addresses in the early years of the Press in Buffalo, of which no trace remains. In view of their ephemeral nature the wonder is that so many have been preserved. They were sometimes cheaply printed, plain in typog-

raphy and paper—a mere broadside or handbill; but the tendency was to make of them something fine and handsome. As local printing offices became better equipped, and presses were improved, so these Carrier's Addresses became more elaborate. The *Buffalo Republican,* on New Year's Day of 1834, sent to its patrons a poem of twenty-one stanzas of eight lines each, some copies of which were printed on white satin. One preserved by the Historical Society, a time-yellowed souvenir about twelve by seventeen inches in size, has written on its margin: "Presented to Miss Mary Barnard by her brother, James H. Barnard, April 24, 1834"; from which the inference is permitted that these old Addresses, at least when printed on satin, were regarded as something to treasure. As for the substance of this particular Address, it is something of a novelty; for after a few smooth stanzas, reviewing current matters, it purports to tell a tale of 1665—the tale of a Scotch piper who, while drunk, was carted off for dead. Recalling the convivial customs of bygone New Year's Days, this pleasant poetic preachment was no doubt the subject of some jesting, if not of caution, among the young men on their round of calls, that day.

The Daily *Buffalonian* in 1839 was published by Brown & Palmer. The office was at the singularly fractional location of "No. 8½ Ellicott Square, 237½ Main Street, up stairs." The editor's name, at New Year's of 1839, was given as J. Whipple Dwinnell, but this name is not discoverable in the City Directory. The Carrier's Address, sent out by the *Buffalonian* on this anniversary, is a smartly clever review of recent events, especially of the Patriot War. Turning from that theme to a local contemporary, it pays its respects as follows:

> The *Mercury*—that puny child
> Of mad buffoonery—folly wild—
> Will that keep up? Ah, that's a lesson

We'll learn of March's General Session:
But if it happen as it may—
That it shall die some earlier day—
E'en charity the boon may crave
To lay a tombstone o'er its grave;
And yet 'twould do the work but half
Unless we wrote its epitaph:
"Here lies Tom Nichols—John St. Clair—
George Arlington—and heaven knows what!
Who took of "Mercury" in despair—
An overdose—and here doth rot!
Fiddler—ventriloquist—magician—knave—
In him combined their various power;
Slander and libel—did they save
Their victim in the fatal hour?
Here *lies*, as it while living ever *lied;*
Despised in life—unpitied when it died."

These allusions, which call for a word of explanation, refer to a notorious episode in the history of Buffalo journalism, regarding which no explanation was needed in 1839. The Daily *Mercury* had been started the previous November by Thomas L. Nichols, who as editor of the *Buffalonian,* had been too free in his criticisms of the Court in connection with the arrest, trial and conviction of Benjamin Rathbun. The *Buffalonian* office was wrecked by a mob, and Nichols narrowly escaped being tarred and feathered. A few months after he wrote this Carrier's Address—for it is undoubtedly his—he was arrested for libel on Judge Stow, was convicted, and served four months in jail. Some further glimpses of the career of this interesting Buffalo editor may be found in Volume XIX of these Publications, pp. 206, 207. His place among the poet-editors of Buffalo, if not exalted, is at least "unique."

The *Western Literary Messenger,* a literary semi-monthly, sent out January 1, 1843, a poem of between 300 and 400 lines, printed on pink tissue, with an elaborate combination border, and old-style head lines. The

poem ushers the patient reader into the presence of the Spirit of Ages, who summons before him the Past and the Future—Old Year and New Year, and holds an assize, or an inquest. It is a grandiloquent phantasmagoria of words, but as it emanated from the office of a literary magazine, and not a mere newspaper, it probably passed for literature—by those who did not read it. The active pen on the *Messenger* at this time was Charles D. Ferris, to whose leisured genius this amazing production is perhaps to be ascribed.

But we were speaking of mechanical appearance. The "News Boys' Address" sent to patrons of the Buffalo *Republican* in 1841 was printed on green paper with ornamental border. All colors and many styles were used; and later, when the ink fountains on the hand presses were arranged for two or more colors, master printers exercised their ingenuity in producing Carrier's Addresses in what used to be called chromatic printing. This was very different from ordinary color printing, which consisted in putting the sheet through the press once for each color. The chromatic attachments which the writer remembers as in use in his boyhood were not very satisfactory for a long run, for the ink-distributing device tended to unduly overrun the colors. However, they were a step forward, though now long superceded by better methods.

The old-time printing office developed good printers, as some of these old Addresses testify. As late, say, as Civil War days, there was little specialization in the average printing office, outside the great cities. Buffalo was not a great city, but it very early had printers who were good all-round craftsmen. When a boy was apprenticed to learn the trade, he learned something of it all, from casting rollers to writing verses to order. Many of the old Addresses in the collection under notice, while not notable as literary productions,

are interesting as marking progress in the printer's art. The *Courier's* Address for 1860, was printed by Sanford, Warren & Harroun, in five colors. The *Express* Address for 1864 is a poem surrounded by an arabesque in red, green and brown, as graceful and tasteful as some dainty bit of old-time tooling on a book cover. Later, lithography was used, and the simplicity of the early poem was lost in a variety of stock-design calendars, albums and what not.

The authorship of the Addresses is perhaps the aspect of them, as an institution, that best merits the attention of the chronicler. Many of the most gifted, or cleverly versatile, of Buffalo writers have produced these New Year's Greetings. Some of the writers, in the early years, have already been named. For the *Courier,* David Gray wrote several. For the *Commercial,* Arthur W. Austin wrote many. Alfred Randall composed the poem which, printed in red and blue, the Buffalo *Evening Post* sent to its patrons in 1870. His name is signed to the still more elaborate Addresses sent out by the *Post* in '73, '74 and '77, which happen to be preserved by the Historical Society. He was, presumptively, of the *Post* staff, but his name is not in the Buffalo Directories of those years, and may possibly be a pseudonym. Miss Annie R. Annin, Rev. Anson G. Chester and Rowland B. Mahany, were among those who supplied the press with poems for these Addresses. For the *Express,* "Tom" Duffy wrote at least one, and, at a later period, Frank H. Severance wrote two. "Ed" Crosby, long connected with the Buffalo *Times,* filled the annual order, and usually signed his productions. William McIntosh, for some years managing editor of the *Evening News,* and a true poet, probably belongs in the list of those who produced these offerings. No doubt other newspaper workers are responsible for like effusions, not preserved in our

archives. Most of those in the Historical Society collection are unsigned.

The New Year's poem, as a local institution, was not exclusively the prerogative of the newspapers. In 1878 there appears to have been a Carriers' Union, which on New Year's Day distributed a poem, passing good, as these things go, profusely illustrated with embellishments in blue. In years past the letter carriers have issued New Year's Addresses. So have the bootblacks. There appears to have been an organization of these useful lads in Buffalo before the business passed wholly to the sons of Italia and Hellas. The Boot Blacks' New Years' Greeting for 1870, tastefully printed in purple, is a clever enough poem signed "C— Y," whatever or whoever that may mean.

In 1869 and '70, perhaps in other years, the Western Union messenger boys followed the fashion and distributed New Year's Greetings. In the first named year the "poem" was written for them by Fowler Bradnack, telegraph operator at old Central Wharf. Mr. Bradnack's production is such a relief from the grandiloquent efforts of earlier years, that we give it here. If any fastidious reader objects that it won't scan and isn't poetry, he can perhaps regard it as the forerunner of modern "free verse" and let it go at that:

It's all very well to talk about the utility of the telegraph,
But if we boys didn't bring the messages right to your door,
You'd be very little better off than when there was no telegraph,
In the sleepy, slow-traveling, old-fogy days of yore!

We are, as it were, the minute telegraphic blood-vessels,
Which ramify off, like the small veins in a porpoise,
Bearing the precious freight from the principal wiry arteries
To the furthest ends of the social political *corpus*.

'Twould be a rich sight to see some of the messages we carry,
Through sunshine, moonshine, rain, mist, snow and dreary
drizzling fogs,

For instance: "At nine o'clock this morning a ten-pound baby!"
"To J. B. Smith, reply by telegraph the latest price of hogs."

Or, "To John Jones, Medina, why the deuse don't you remit
The fifteen dollars, sixteen cents you owe for board last Fall!"
"To Reverend Doctor Higgins, can you preach next Sunday morn?"
"J. B., If you can't come at once, you needn't come at all."

And then, sometimes, we are unconsciously the bearers
Of doleful news that breaks with cruel blow some tender heart.
"Dear John, our mother died at nine o'clock this morning,"
Or, "Annie's sinking very fast, by what train will you start?"

In the past year we've walked o'er many weary miles of streets,
And worn out many high-priced boots and shoes, and costly clo'es,
In our endeavor to correctly notify and post you
Upon the way in which this fast-revolving planet goes.

And we, on almost every street in this great city,
Have carried 'round to all men—Christians, Pagans, colored folk and Jews,
From almost every town in this free, glorious country,
From every quarter—North, East, West and South, the telegraphic NEWS.

And we've come now to wish you one and all a glad New Year;
We trust that for your happiness all good things will combine.
As for ourselves we'll still keep on our wiry way,
And, spite of opposition, "fight it out upon this LINE."

Sometimes the composition of these annual offerings was evidently a matter of office-staff assignment; they read as though the editor had said: "Smith, you can cover this police case; and Jones, it's a dull day and you're not much of a reporter anyway; write us a poem for the Carrier's Address"—and the result was about what might be expected. Usually sone one on a newspaper staff has a gift for versifying or a knack for turning phrases in rhyme. It was some unknown Tom Hood, who, doing this service for the Buffalo *Daily Dispatch,*

produced a very readable screed for the Address of 1878, the quality of which is fairly shown by the following:

There's rascals in our midst; we're trying now to catch 'em,
And if we do, be sure we will *Dispatch* 'em.
The feast, municipal, new dishes will uncover,
To Christmas turkey, follows a New Year's turnover.
Our turnout starts with a new mayor, whose paces we must try.
We had our Phil* last time and that makes this one Scheu.
The female suffrage folks may think, with them we are agreein',
Because for a comptroller we have got this time a Sheehan.

Sometimes, like the Address sent out by the *Times* in 1891, these effusions were frankly and unblushingly devoted to extolling the excellencies of their paper. This was legitimate advertising, but scarcely a contribution to local poetry. The Address issued by the *Times* in 1889 consisted of two poems, one purporting to be written by a newsboy fourteen years old, the other by a newsgirl, who begs her customers to

Think of the boys we've had to whip
To keep ourselves in line.

A forecast, perhaps, of present day possibilities under universal suffrage.

Going to the other extreme, the local publishers sometimes issued in attractive form, genuine poems full of exquisite play of fancy and imagination, by the best local poets. To this class belong "The New Year" by Miss Annie R. Annin, published in 1881; and Rowland B. Mahany's New Year's Greeting, issued by the *Times* in 1892.

The *Express* in former years followed this New Year's custom, with many poems, good, bad and made-to-order. Most of them are anonymous. That for 1876, entitled "New Year's Thoughts," was written by Thomas F. Duffy, of the *Express* staff; no worse than many others,

*Philip Becker, mayor in 1870-'71, was succeeded by Solomon Scheu.

and tastefully printed with a black and gold border. Especially during the years when J. N. Matthews was building up and giving character to this journal, were the New Year's Greetings treasures, if not always highly poetic, of the printer's art; for Mr. Matthews prided himself on his skill and taste as a practical printer, to which these Addresses for many years testify. Later, by most of the publishers, the single poem was discontinued and succeeded by pictorial Year Books, often of wholesale manufacture; calendars and what not, of no local significance or interest. The acme of simplicity was attained by the *Express* in 1878, when its patrons received a small card bearing the printed words: "A Happy New Year. Compliments of *Buffalo Express* carrier boy." Why bother with poetry, when the main purpose of these greetings could be gained thus simply?

The Daily *Commercial Advertiser* was first issued January 1, 1835, but today it is pleased to advertise itself as having existed since October 3, 1811. The facts are, briefly, that the *Buffalo Gazette* began on the date named, was enlarged in 1815 and in 1818 took the name *Buffalo Patriot,* Mr. H. A. Salisbury becoming sole proprietor. The *Patriot,* a weekly, was enlarged in 1824, in 1831, and again in 1833, when it was renamed *Buffalo Patriot and Commercial Advertiser.* After the daily *Commercial Advertiser* was begun the two papers continued with different names. Guy H. Salisbury was made editor of the daily, and on January 1, 1836, H. A. Salisbury took as partner Bradford A. Manchester, who had been his printer, and the firm of Salisbury & Manchester owned and published both papers.

The weekly *Patriot* and the new daily *Commercial Advertiser* sent out one New Year's Address for 1835, which was signed "Carrier Boy," but which we feel warranted in assigning to Guy H. Salisbury. There's little in its twelve eight-line stanzas that tempts to

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quotation, but a fair idea of its quality may be had from the following:

Our city's march is "onward" still—
    Improvement rules the day;
And railroad stock, and city lots
    Feel its controlling sway.
The "knowing ones," the flats—the sharps—
    Those who would sell or buy,
Scan every foot and inch they pass
    With speculating eye.

Kind patron! we this day to you
    Present our Daily Paper;
And hope it may not prove to be
    A soon-extinguished taper;
But 'tis upon your generous aid,
    We venture to rely, Sir,
On ushering into life the new
    "*Commercial Advertiser.*"

This was unquestionably the *Commercial Advertiser's* first Carrier's Address. No other Buffalo paper has sent out as many, nor have any others averaged better, either as poetry or printing, than the *Commercial's* long series. In 1836, one Address was again issued for the daily, and the weekly *Patriot.* It was a poem of 216 lines, and was signed, when it did finally come to an end: "G. H. S., Dec. 31, 12 p. m." The following stanzas will suffice here:

Each year works wonders in our Infant City,
    Improvements numberless and great effecting—
Combining both the useful and the pretty—
    Resistless enterprise their course directing;
To speak of half of them, time won't permit—we
    Will merely mention that the late erecting
By Rathbun, of warehouses, stores, etc.
    (We all take pleasure that the fact should go forth)

Is most unprecedented; had they not been counted,
    The tale might very honestly be doubted,
They could by any sort of magic have amounted

To such a number—but facts can't be scouted:
His huge hotel with lofty dome surmounted,
Like Holt's or Astor's (whose praise has been shouted)
And other buildings—if I have not blundered—
Lack but just one of making up a hundred!

'Tis to his public spirit we are indebted
For sundry neat new omnibusses;
Though some perhaps may have regretted
Their introduction, deeming them but curses;
As in our Eastern cities they have fretted
The patience of wayfarers, and what worse is,
Run over people, which is very evil—
But here their drivers are polite and civil.

And a few months later Rathbun, whose praises the little city's poet had so ostentatiously sung, was doing time in Auburn prison!

We pass over, unmentioned, many of the *Commercial's* usually admirable Carrier's Addresses. Something of the city's growth can be traced in them, from year to year, and it is often interesting to note what the poet fixed upon as the significant events of the time for which he wrote. Coming down to the Civil War period, we find the strong sentiments of that time well expressed in these verses. In 1863, under the caption, "Carrier's New Year Couplets," were printed two poems, one summing up with epigramatic brevity the black story of 1862:

What a record is thy record, vanished year!
Every page reveals a blood-spot and a tear—

The other looking with hopeful questioning to 1863:

God of nations! God of battles! God of grace!
Hide no more the noontide glory of Thy face.

We are weary with our waiting for the stars—
Is there none in all the firmament but Mars?

What shall be the new year's record? God above!
Write it not in words of anger, but of love.

Who was the author of this, we cannot say. Trying to recall the men or women of Buffalo of that day who could have written it, one thinks first of Dr. Lord; but these lines do not appear in the published collections of his poems; nor does the very graceful poem which the *Commercial* sent out on New Year's Day of 1865, entitled "The Carrier's Hymn of Hope," beginning

> The herald rays of happier hours
> With shining fingers touch the skies;
> The year whose life in doubt began
> In glorious promise dies.

In 1866 the *Commercial's* offering was entitled "New Year Carol of Peace," the tasteful heading including a dove with a sprig of olive in its beak, all printed in the favorite combination of purple and gold. This poem, of eleven stanzas, we also ascribe to Dr. Lord. What other Buffalo citizen at that period would have penned stanzas like these:

> Let the people shout Hosanna
> To the Lord and King Divine!
> We have eaten of victory's manna
> And tasted its cheering wine.
>
> - - - - - -
>
> If we heed aright the teaching
> Of the trial and the strife,
> We shall up to the stars be reaching—
> We shall rise to a nobler life!

With the passing of the stress and sacrifice of the Civil War, there came a reaction of spirit, faithfully reflected in these annual greetings. In 1868 the *Commercial,* again through an unproclaimed poet, was greeting its readers in jocular jingles, supposedly spoken by the Carrier himself. We take space for but a few of the all equally clever many:

> More than three hundred times this year
> We've brought you daily news,

And (though it boots but little now)
We've worn out many shoes.

\- - - - - -

And, whether from his gilded throne
A monarch topples down,
Or contumacious dog-fight
Convulses half the town—

\- - - - - -

Alike we post you faithfully,
Just how the monarch fell,
And which dog chewed the other dog
We never fail to tell.

And thus you daily see what's done
Upon the land and sea;
You eat the news between your rolls,
And drink it in your tea.

\- - - - - -

You eat a round of buttered toast,
And then, to wash it down,
You read about a bloody fight
In some far-distant town.

Thus physical and mental food
Are dextrously combined,
For as you sit and mind your feed,
You also feed your mind.

And while you're thus surrounded with
Good gifts without alloy,
We pray you do not quite forget
Your friend, the Carrier Boy.

Arthur W. Austin, during his forty years of service with the *Commercial Advertiser,* probably wrote a greater number of New Year's Greetings than any one else in Buffalo. He had been a newsboy and carried the *Commercial* from house to house before he was taken into the office. For seventeen years he was city editor, becoming editor-in-chief, which post he held at the time of his death, January 5, 1913. The Historical Society collection includes a score or more of the *Commercial's*

Greetings—not counting modern almanacs, etc. The earliest is for 1842—long before Mr. Austin's time. But from the decade of the '70's on for many years, he seems to have made the writing of a New Year's poem for the carrier boys a regular duty. In 1878 his New Year's poem took the form of a vision:

> I had been reading "The Raven," Poe's
> Wierd and beautiful song,
> Till my soul seemed drifting, drifting,
> O'er the rhythmic billows urged:

And under its influence he is borne "into limitless space afar" where he meets a spectral figure—

> A white mysterious presence that never a shadow cast,

And this awesome spectre shows him suns, constellations and systems, amid which

> The soul of Lenore's sad lover is searching forevermore
> From world to world up yonder, in vain for the maiden's soul.

From this depressing dream the poet awakens and hears the church bells ringing on New Year's morning; and lo, the Spirit of the Vision returns, with this more heartening message:

> Vex not thyself with doubtings of the future,
> Nor hold as true the gloomy spectre's story;
> Let the glad influence of the present cheer thee:—
> Behold the New Year cometh in his glory.
>
> And know the soul of man is like the New Year,
> And all the beauty of its youth retaineth;
> Even as the year that runs its course and dieth,
> So is the body, but the soul remaineth.
>
> And riseth to its destiny immortal,
> Not to a land of endless separation
> From those it loved—not to the Nevermore-land—
> But to a realm where Life's great consummation

Is found, and friends and kindred, ay, and lovers,
Are reunited nevermore to sever,
All in the changeless splendor of a New Year,
Whose morning lasts forever and forever!

There is no gainsaying the quality of such verses; whatever else they may be, they proceed from a high plane of thought and a truly poetic imagination. But the reflection is inevitable, in any attempt at appraisal, that such subtle refinement was a strange offering at the hands of newsboys, whose paramount thought was for a cash return.

The *Commercial's* Greeting for 1879 consisted of two poems, "The Old Year" and "The New Year," unsigned, but probably written by Mr. Austin, resplendently printed in purple and gold. In 1884 Mr. Austin's poem for the newsboys was entitled "In Praise of Buffalo," an appropriate theme for the occasion. In easy flowing measures the poet pictures the past:

Up from the ashes of the frontier town,
We see thee rise to affluence and renown.
The fierce invaders could but burn and slay;
They could not take thy heritage away.
The British bayonet and the Indian knife
Could wound thee sore, but not destroy thy life.
Blue Erie's pulsing waves against them cried,
And vengeful rolled the swift Niagara's tide!
And thus in days of ruin, blood and wrath,
Still could be traced thy future golden path.

He sings of the city's growth, of its prosperity, of its beauty, even; turning finally to its future. To his vision, the horoscope showed a glorious Buffalo—

And may thy future men and women prove
Worthy themselves, and worthy of thy love.

The earliest of Mr. Austin's poems, written for the New Year's purpose, which we identify, was for 1871. It pictured, as scores of other addresses had done, the

death of the Old Year, but its stanzas have a strength and dignity which are exceptional, as the following, a fair sample of the whole poem, may testify:

> If God's wrath be great and stormful,
> Ever greater are His mercies;
> What His anger once has darkened, that
> His love makes bright again.
> If the Old Year's course was shrouded
> In the gloom of war's dark curses,
> May the New receive the blessing: "Peace
> On earth, good will to men."

One of Mr. Austin's Addresses, that for 1875, is a dainty booklet, containing several of his poems: "Immortality," "Reverie, Dream and Afterthought," undoubtedly poetic, but a far, far departure from the Carrier's Address as originally conceived and brought forth. The following year Mr. Austin offered, again in a twelve-page booklet, "The Floral Tribute—a Story of New Year's Day," in verse; and thus, through a long series of years, he demonstrated his versatility and the genuineness of his poetic gift. He was fond of telling a story in ballad form, and usually did it well. The Address for 1873, which though unsigned is undoubtedly his, tells the dream of a little beggar girl whom he saw descending from heaven.

> A kingly angel robed in white,

summoned her to ascend with him to her glorious home:

> She listened to his gracious calls,
> And hand in hand she dreamed they went
> Above the cross upon St. Paul's
> High up into the firmament.

The ballad recites her visit to the celestial city, the shock of awakening from the vision, her flight from her wretched home, and ultimate death in a storm, in order that she might realize her dream of heaven. The "appli-

cation," as old-fashioned preachers used to say, was that the poor should be remembered, at any rate on New Year's Day. A good many of these prettily-printed leaflets of half a century ago, strike the charity note. Perhaps the thoroughness with which Buffalo has looked after her poor in days past, was in some measure due to the zeal of her New Year's poets!

Still another note, a novelty, was struck by the *Commercial* in its offering for 1877. It is entitled "The New Century"—counting from the Year of Independence. In it each of the sisterhood of thirteen original states "speaks her piece," the latter-made states chorus in, and all voice a new Song of Liberty. An ambitious idea, even if not great in execution.

The annual greetings of the *Courier*—of the old *Courier* before its sale by Charles W. McCune—are often little but reminders that the newspaper was then an adjunct of a great lithographing plant. No paper excelled the *Courier* in cheerfulness and novelty of pictorial souvenirs on New Year's Day. As to authorship, the range is considerable. Sometimes, the editor was content with Tennyson and Ella Wheeler Wilcox, though failing to make the usual claim that their poems were written expressly for his use. In 1875 its annual Address was a truly humorous poem, "Jim the Carrier and Josiah Mudge." We make no guess as to its author, but he was obviously of the happy family of Tom Hood. Mudge was a Scrooge-like person who refused to give the carrier a tip because he had missed a paper or so during the past year; whereupon this bad boy hied himself to the slums and spread the news that Mudge was holding a New Year's matinee, with largess for all. We can give only a part of the account of what happened:

Ah, 'twas a goodly sight to see those swarming denizens
Turn out at James's summons, alone, by fives, by tens,

Male and female, lame, halt and blind, from hovels and from dens.
The cripples took their wooden legs beneath their arms and run;
The blind saw clearly that they must look out for number one;
The dumb ones swore by lame and blind they would not be outdone;
The deaf heard what was going on and quickly took the cue;
The armless man was in the van, but paused to tie his shoe,
And the poorest beggar hired a hack and beat the entire crew.

This tatterdemalion mob besieged the grouchy Mudge, who gives nothing but curses. Finally their ranks are recruited by the hand-organ men, who give him such a soul-splitting New Year's serenade that he goes into fits, from which he is only rescued by the soothing tones of saws, filed at his bedside! Moral (or course): Stand in with the Carrier and save trouble.

In 1888 the *Courier's* greeting included poems by Helen Whitney Clark and Anna M. Pratt, apparently local contributors. Mrs. Agnes Shalloe, when a school girl of sixteen, wrote in competition with many others, a New Year's Address which the *Courier* accepted as best of all sent in; but its one notable author in this field was David Gray. The number of his New Year's poems probably did not equal those of Mr. Austin; but in poetic quality, in refinement, delicacy of fancy and felicity of expression, his work stands unexcelled. Several of his New Year's poems, from 1860 to 1864, are included in his life and writings, edited by J. N. Larned and published in 1888. The reader who turns to those pages will need no further assurance as to the high quality of Mr. Gray's verse. For New Year's of 1870 he supplied "A New Year's Item, in verse," which was issued as an attractive ten-page pamphlet, with two illustrations by L. G. Sellstedt, one of them being a moonlight view of St. Paul's, before the spire was finished. The poem, which is of too exquisite workman-

ship to be sampled in fragmentary quotation, is introduced to the reader by the following "Prelude":

SCENE—Editor's Room, in the small hours between New Year's eve and morning. Editor anxiously twirling his scissors, when the Foreman enters:

FOREMAN—Past midnight, Sir! That New Year's article—all hands are waiting—(Exit.)

EDITOR—(testily)—New Year's article?
A plague on New Year's articles say I!
And on this ceaseless treadmill, that forbids
Even the peaceful counting of the hour
That bears a year away! Twelve solemn strokes!
The twelve apostles of Old Time, methinks,
Sent forth to preach eternity. And night
Hushes her winds to listen, and the earth
Stands white and silent—

(*Falls into a state of reverie but presently starts up.*)

Scissors! Do I Dream?
And will this New Year's matter write itself?
Oh! Muse, or thou, Mephisto! who of old
Didst help a printer at a pinch—give ear!
My public do demand for New Year's morn
An article—prose, verse—it matters not—
Something swift-footed Mercury may hawk
Tomorrow morn, and thereby levy tax. But I—
My brain is empty:—ha! who's there? Come in!

(*Enter Reporter, who flings down memorandum for a news item.*—EDITOR *reads*:)
"Found dead, a little after twelve tonight,
On ——— street, in a wretched, fireless room,
A woman, young, and has been handsome once.
Had drunken husband, so the neighbors say,
Who used her badly. Inquest held tomorrow."

REPORTER—Here are some papers, sir, were in her hand; perhaps they tell her story if worth while:—

(EDITOR *examines scraps of manuscript, and gradually becomes interested.*)

EDITOR—A sad case, this—a sorry New Year's tale!
(*Reads again, but finally seizes his pen.*)

By heavens, I'll write it, for it surely holds
A moral that the time has need to heed.
Yes! this shall be my New Year's Article,
And as I live, by many a morning hearth,
The happy New Year folks shall read and see
What themes and questions, solemn, tragic, dread,
Crowd at the threshold of this new-born time.

(*Plunges savagely into a pile of foolscap, and when the foreman makes a second visit, hands him the following*:)

Then follows the long poem, beginning, with David Gray's characteristic delicacy of touch:

Soften to airs of balm, oh! winter wind!

These notes, already too prolix, could be much extended. The long passage of years that now spans the activities of the local press, has produced many more of these New Year's offerings than can be touched upon here. The German press, notably the *Freie Presse, Demokrat* and the *Volksfreund,* for many years were faithful in observance of the custom. So, too, was the church press. On New Year's Day of 1873, the *Catholic Union,* then published in the old Peabody Block, 89 Main street, sent to its patrons a long poem of no little merit. The Union was then edited by J. Edmund Burke. At a little later period began the long editorial service of Rev. Patrick Cronin, whose literary taste and poetic gifts gave character to the paper thereafter for more than thirty years.

The writer's purpose in touching on this subject was by no means to make a catalogue; but, with such reminders as the Historical Society collection affords, to recall for the entertainment of his readers an old-time custom, one now largely lost or modified beyond recognition, but which through many years employed the most poetically-gifted pens in Buffalo; a custom which, thus scanned in review, is seen to be not only something of an historical mirror of the times, but an altogether sincere and worthy expression of the local press.

THE STORY OF THE TABLET OF THE CITY OF ARARAT

By Hon. Lewis F. Allen

[One of the relics that has a story, in the Historical Society museum, is the "Ararat stone," so called. In volume I of these Publications it was described and its curious history recorded by Hon. Lewis F. Allen. It was not, however, pictured, nor has it ever been, except crudely, in a newspaper. The volume containing Mr. Allen's narrative has long been out of print; in picturing the Ararat tablet in this volume, the editor feels that he cannot do better than to reprint the account which Mr. Allen wrote, and which the author read at a meeting of the Historical Society, March 5, 1866.—Editor.]

Grand Island lies in the Niagara river, County of Erie, and State of New York. Its south end is about four miles below the mouth of Lake Erie, to the north, and its north end is about the same distance above the Niagara Falls. Its extreme mean length is a trifle over eight miles; its extreme breadth is a little over six miles —but that width extends only a small distance—the average being probably four and a half miles; containing in its whole area, by survey, 17,381 acres. It is a body of good agricultural land, and until about the year 1834, with the exception of ten or twelve hundred acres, was covered with a heavy growth of timber. Its situation along the shore of the river is exceedingly pleasant and commanding, elevated six to thirty feet above the water; and along its various coasts embraces many picturesque views of the city of Buffalo, the villages of Tonawanda and Niagara Falls, and the adjacent Canadian and American shores. At its southwestern extremity lies, separated by the small arm of Beaver creek about one

hundred feet in width, Beaver Island, containing forty acres. At its northwestern extremity, is a small inlet of deep water, called Burnt Ship bay, in which are two sunken hulks of vessels, said, by tradition (and no doubt truly), to be driven in there from Chippewa by the British forces and destroyed by their French commanders, in the French-and-English Canadian war of the year 1755. In very low water the timber heads of one of these vessels may be seen a few inches above the surface. Separated by this bay, a narrow marsh, and an insignificant streamlet of only a few feet in width, lies Buckhorn Island, containing, by survey, one hundred and forty-six and one-half acres. No other islands are immediately contiguous to Grand Island.

Spafford's *Gazetteer,* printed in the year 1824, relates that the State of New York, by a treaty held with the Seneca Indians at Buffalo, September 12, 1815, purchased of that tribe, Grand and several other small islands in the Niagara river. For Grand Island, this authority does not give the price paid by the State. My impression is, that I have seen in some other work that eleven thousand dollars was the consideration; and for the other small islands, Spafford states that the consideration was one thousand dollars and an annuity of five hundred dollars.

Immediately after its purchase by the State, numerous squatters flocked on to Grand Island, and built cabins along its shores on both sides—on the west, or Canadian side, mostly—for the purpose of cutting, and working into staves, the valuable white-oak timber which abounded there, for the Montreal and Quebec markets. From those cities the staves were shipped, mainly, to the British West India Islands. The staves were taken from Grand Island in scow-boats to Chippewa, thence wagoned around the Falls to Lewiston, and there put on board sail-vessels for Montreal and Quebec.

At the time the State of New York purchased Grand Island, the territorial titles of the lake and river islands between the United States and Canada were undetermined, and so they remained until the year 1822, when all the islands in the Niagara river, excepting Navy Island, opposite the foot of Grand Island, were declared by the boundary commissioners, appointed by the governments of the United States and Great Britain, to belong to the United States, and consequently they came under the jurisdiction of the State of New York. Up to the year 1819, the squatters held undisputed possession of the land, amenable to neither New York nor Canadian law; setting up a sort of government of their own, wherein they settled their own disputes, if they had any, but defying the authority of either jurisdiction on the opposite shores. In a foot-note to the *Field Notes* of the survey of the island made in the months of October and November, in the year 1824, by Silas D. Kellogg and James Tanner, after describing Lot No. 18, on the east, or American bank of the river, the surveyors remark:

> "On this lot stands the remains of a log cabin, in which the renowned Mr. Clarke used to reside. While it was undetermined to which government the island belonged, this man came on, and became generalissimo and the director of an independent judiciary, whose laws and customs were enforced and practiced like those of the King of the Outlaws."

This Mr. Clarke—"Governor" he used to be called when administering squatter-law on the islands—I knew very well in the year 1835. He then lived at Pendleton, in Niagara county, on the Erie canal, where he had the reputation of a good citizen. I asked him about his residence and administration at Grand Island. He evidently disliked to talk upon the subject, and waived it at every attempt I made to get a history of the affair, but acknowledged the fact of living there, and being somewhat a conspicuous man among the people. He

was then perhaps fifty years of age, but whether now living or not, I am unable to say. So annoying had the squatters on the island become to the neighboring shores, by their frequent acts of outlawry, and their depredations on the valuable timber of the island, that the New York State authorities took summary measures to remove them. An instance was related, that when a sheriff or constable, armed with a civil process, had landed there to arrest one of the squatters, several of them assembled, and treated both the officer and his authority with contempt; took his oars or paddles out of his boat, and set him adrift down the river, where he floated for some distance, until some one, touched by his distress, put out with another boat and took him over to the American shore.

Immediately after this, in the year 1819, Sheriff Cronk, of this county (then Niagara), was clothed with a requisition from the State authorities, to call out a company of the militia in and about Buffalo, to make a descent on the island, and rid it of the squatters. Colonel Benjamin Hodge (still living with us) then having the requisite military command, with a sufficient number of armed men, and accompanied by the sheriff, took boats from the "Seeley Tavern," about three miles below Black Rock, on the river shore—landed on the island—made its entire circuit—drove off every squatter, either on to the Canadian or American shores, and burned every dwelling and other building to the ground. Thus was established the authority and law of the State over Grand Island. A portion of these squatters, however, immediately returned; but, as they ceased cutting timber and held themselves amenable to the law, they were not again molested by State authority. They rebuilt their cabins, cultivated their little patches of clearing, and remained peaceable citizens, taking a little timber "on the sly," only; keeping a few cattle and pigs, and

eking out a poor, but, to them, quite satisfactory subsistence.

Grand Island, in those days of the Niagara frontier, in its grand and deep solitude, was a charming place for those who loved to range the woods, or float on the quiet pellucid waters of the noble river encircling it. From head to foot, along the shores, or in the deepest wilderness, on a still day, the roar of the Falls below was always heard, and along its westerly shore their ascending spray was always in sight. Men of thought and reflection loved occasionally to camp for days on its shores, and fish and hunt, as the mood for either recreation impelled them; and no wonder that the "loafing," desultory habits of the squatters found there a congenial dwelling-place. There were the serene sky, the clear waters, the venerable trees—all in quiet summer beauty, inviting to repose, to listlessness and laziness, so congenial to squatter and roving life. Who can blame the vagabonds for loving to live and harbor there!

The woods abounded with deer; occasionally a bear, a wolf, or other large game worthy a hunter's elevated ambition, was found. Great numbers of raccoons, squirsels, and other small furry quadrupeds inhabited the woods, while myraids of ducks and other game-birds thronged the shores and waters in their proper season. The Indians from the Seneca and Tonawanda reservations, held annual hunts of days or weeks upon the island, and carried away canoe-loads of the choicest venison.

The fishing, too, was magnificent. Tons of the finest muskelonge, yellow pike, sturgeon, black bass, pickerel, mullet and smaller fish were hauled up to the shore in seines in their seasons, or drawn out by the hook and line of an adroit angler. The hook-and-line fishing of the Niagara was nowhere excelled. No wonder such a paradise of hunters and sportsmen was sought and lived

upon by those to whose habits steady labor was irksome. The warm, sunny nooks of "the clearings" produced every annual garden-fruit and vegetable of the climate. Melons and other choice delicacies abounded with every one who had the industry to plant and cultivate them. Hunting parties would go down from Black Rock and Buffalo, for a week's recreation, and "drive" the woods for deer, while "'coons," squirrels, ducks, and other game were the continuous incidental trophies of their sport. So passed, for several years, the squatter and camp life of Grand Island.

In the year 1824, the State ordered a survey of the land into farm lots, and in that year a party was fitted out for the purpose. A part of the work was done under the supervision of Silas D. Kellogg, in that year. But Mr. Kellogg sickened and died before the work was completed; and, early in the next year, James Tanner was commissioned, and finished the work.

In this year (1825) an eventful history was about to open on the Niagara frontier. Those members of our Society who then lived here, in the relation of their reminiscences of that period, have been prone to mark it as an eventful year in three striking incidents relating to the history of Buffalo, viz: the visit of General Lafayette, the completion and opening of the Erie canal, and "the hanging of the three Thayers." They might have added to it another memorable occurrence, not only to Buffalo, but to the Niagara frontier. Following the survey of Grand Island into farm-lots, for settlement, of which the State authorities gave notice in the public newspapers, an idea occurred to the late Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, a distinguished Israelite, of the city of New York, then editor of a prominent political journal, called *The National Advocate,* that Grand Island would make a suitable asylum for the Jews of all nations, whereon they could establish a great city, and become

emancipated from the oppression bearing so heavily upon them in foreign countries.

To understand this matter thoroughly, it is necessary to go somewhat into particulars. I knew Major Noah well. Physically, he was a man of large muscular frame, rotund person, a benignant face, and most portly bearing. Although a native of the United States, the lineaments of his race were impressed upon his features with unmistakable character; and if the blood of the elder Patriarchs or David or Solomon flowed not in his veins, then both chronology and genealogy must be at fault. He was a Jew, thorough and accomplished. His manners were genial, his heart kind, and his generous sympathies embraced all Israel, even to the end of the earth. He was learned, too, not only in the Jewish and civil law, but in the ways of the world at large, and particularly in the faith and politics of "Saint Tammany" and "the Bucktail Party" of the State, of which his newspaper was the organ and chief expounder in the city of New York. He was a counselor at law in our courts, had been Consul-General for the United States at the Kingdom of Tunis, on the coast of Barbary,—at the time he held it, a most responsible trust. Although a visionary, —as some would call him—and an enthusiast in his enterprises, he had won many friends among the Gentiles, who had adopted him into their political associations. He had warm attachments and few hates, and if the sharpness of his political attacks created, for the time, a personal rancor in the breasts of his opponents, his genial, frank, childlike ingenuousness healed it all at the first opportunity. He was a pundit in Hebrew law, traditions and customs. "To the manner born," he was loyal to his religion; and no argument or sophistry could swerve him from his fidelity, or uproot his hereditary faith. My friend and neighbor, William A. Bird, Esq., has related to me the following anecdote: Many

years ago, when his mother, the late Mrs. Eunice Porter Bird Pawling, resided at Troy, New York, a society was formed, auxiliary to one organized in the city of New York, for the purpose of christianizing the Jews in all parts of the world. Mrs. Pawling, an energetic doer of good work, in the then infant city of her residence, was applied to for her co-operation in that novel benefaction. She had her own doubts, both of its utility and success, of which results have proved the correctness. But, determined to act understandingly, she wrote a letter to Major Noah, asking his views on so important a subject. He replied in a letter, elaborately setting forth the principles, the faith, and the policy of the Jewish people, their ancient hereditary traditions, their venerable history, their hope of a coming Messiah; and concluded by expressing the probability that the modern Gentiles would sooner be converted to the Jewish faith, than that the Jews would be converted to theirs.

Major Noah—as I observed, a visionary, somewhat, and an enthusiast altogether—made two grand mistakes in his plan. In the first place, he had no power or authority over his people; and, in the next, he was utterly mistaken in their aptitude for the new calling he proposed them to fulfill. But he went on. He induced his friend, the late Samuel Leggett, of New York, to make a purchase of twenty-five hundred and fifty-five acres, partly at the head of Grand Island, and partly at its center, opposite Tonawanda, at the entrance of the Erie canal into the Niagara river. Either or both of those localities were favorable for building a city. These two tracts he thought sufficient for a settlement of his Jewish brethren; which, if successful, would result in all the lands of the island falling into their hands. Nor, on a fairly supposititious ground—presuming the Jews, in business affairs, to be like the Gentiles—were his theories so much mistaken. The canal, opening a new avenue

to the great western world, from Lake Erie to the *ultima thule* of civilization at that day, was about to be completed. The Lakes had no extensive commerce. Capital was unknown as a commercial power in Western New York. The Jews had untold wealth, ready to be converted into active and profitable investment. Tonawanda, in common with Black Rock and Buffalo, with a perfect and capacious natural harbor, was one of the western termini of the Erie canal, and at the foot of the commerce of the western lakes. With sufficient steam-power, every sail craft and steamship on the Lakes could reach Grand Island and Tonawanda, discharge into, and take on their cargoes from canal-boats, and by their ample means thus command the western trade. Buffalo and Black Rock, although up to that time the chief recipients of the lake commerce, lacking moneyed capital, would not be able to compete with the energy and abundant resources of the proposed commercial cities to be established on Grand Island and at Tonawanda, and they must yield to the rivalry of the Jews. Such was Major Noah's theory, and such his plans. Mr. Leggett's co-operation, with abundant means for the land purchase, he had already secured. Through the columns of his own widely circulating *National Advocate* he promulgated his plan, and by the time the sale of the Grand Island lots was to be made at the State Land Office in Albany, other parties of capitalists had concluded to take a venture in the speculation.

The sale took place. Mr. Leggett purchased one thousand and twenty acres at the head of the island, at the cost of seven thousand two hundred dollars, and fifteen hundred and thirty-five acres along the river in a compact body, above, opposite, and below Tonawanda, at the price of nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-five dollars; being about fifty per cent. above the average of what the whole body of land sold at per acre,—that

is to say: the whole seventeen thousand three hundred and eighty-one acres sold for seventy-six thousand two hundred and thirty dollars; being an average, including Mr. Leggett's purchase, of about four dollars and thirty-eight cents per acre.

Next to Leggett, Messrs. John B. Yates and Archibald McIntyre, then proprietors, by purchase from the State, of the vast system of lotteries, embracing those for the benefit of Union College, and other elemosynary purposes—gambling in lotteries for the benefit of colleges and churches was thought to be a *moral* instrument in those days— purchased through other parties a large amount of the land, and "Peter Smith, of Peterboro" (living, however, at Schenectady,—and the most extensive land speculator in the state,—father of the present Gerrit Smith) took a large share of the remainder. To sum up, briefly, the result of the sale of the Grand Island lands: Leggett and Yates and McIntyre complied with the stipulated terms of the sale, paid over to the State their one-eighth of the purchase-money, and gave their bonds for the remainder; while Smith—wary in land-purchasing practice, *when the State of New York was the seller*—did no such thing. He paid his one-eighth of the purchase-money down, as did the others, but *neglected to give his bond* for payment of the balance. The consequence was, when the éclat of Noah's Ararat subsided, and his scheme proved a failure, the land went down in value, and Smith forfeited his first payment, and the lots fell back to the State. But on a lower re-appraisal by the State some years afterwards, Smith again bought at less than half the price at which he originally purchased, made his one-eighth payment again, and gave his bond as required; thus pocketing, by his future sale of the property, over twenty thousand dollars in the transaction!

All this, however, aside from Mr. Leggett's purchase

for the benefit of Major Noah, has nothing to do with our main history, and is only given as an occurrence of the times.

Major Noah, now secure in the possession of a nucleus for his coveted "City of Refuge for the Jews," addressed himself to its foundation and dedication. He had heralded his intentions through the columns of his *National Advocate.* His cotemporaries of the press ridiculed his scheme, and predicted its failure; yet, true to his original purpose, he determined to carry it through. Wise Jews around him shook their heads in doubt of his ability to effect his plans, and withheld from him their support. But, nothing daunted, he ventured it unaided, and almost alone. By the aid of an indomitable friend, and equally enthusiastic co-laborer, Mr. A. B. Siexas, of New York, he made due preparations; and, late in the month of August, in the year 1825, with robes of office and insignia of rank securely packed, they left the city of New York for Buffalo. He was a stranger in our then little village of twenty-five hundred people, and could rely for countenance and aid only on his old friend, the late Isaac S. Smith, then residing here, whom he had known abroad while in his consulate at Tunis. In Mr. Smith, however, he found a ready assistant in his plans. Major Noah, with his friend Siexas, arrived in Buffalo in the last days of August. He had got prepared a stone which was to be "the chief of the corner," with proper inscription and of ample dimensions for the occasion. This stone was obtained from the Cleveland, Ohio, sandstone quarries. The inscription, written by Major Noah, was cut by the late Seth Chapin of Buffalo.

As, on examination when arriving here, he could not well get to Grand Island to locate and establish his city, it was concluded to lay the corner-stone in the Episcopal church of the village, then under the rectorship of the

Rev. Addison Searle. At this strange and remarkable proceeding, and the noval act of laying a foundation for a Jewish city, with its imposing rites and formulae, its regal pomp and Jewish ceremony, in a Christian Episcopal church, with the aid of its authorized rector, may strike the present generation with surprise, a word or two may be said of the transaction.

The Rev. Mr. Searle was, at that time, the officiating clergyman in the little church of St. Paul's, in the village of Buffalo, and had been placed there as a missionary by the late wise and excellent Bishop Hobart. He held a government commission as chaplain of the United States, and had been granted a some years' furlough from active duty. He had been on foreign cruises,—had coasted the Mediterranean, and spent months in the chief cities of its classic shores, and visited the beautiful Greek Island of Scio, a few weeks after the burning of its towns and the massacre of its people by the Turks, in 1822. He was an accomplished and genial man, of commanding person and portly mien; his manners were bland, and his address courtly. Whether he had made the acquaintance of Major Noah abroad or in New York, or whether he first met him on this occasion at Buffalo, I know not; but their intercourse here was cordial and friendly.

On the second day of September, 1825, the imposing ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the city of Ararat, to be built on Grand Island, took place; and, as a full account of the doings of the day, written by Major Noah himself, was published at the time in *The Buffalo Patriot, Extra,* I take the liberty of repeating them from that paper:

> It was known, at the sale of that beautiful and valuable tract called Grand Island, a few miles below this port, in the Niagara river, that it was purchased, in part, by the friends of Major Noah of New York, avowedly to offer it as an asylum

THE ARARAT STONE, FOR PROPOSED REFUGE CITY FOR JEWS ON GRAND ISLAND IN THE NIAGARA RIVER, 1825. PRESERVED BY THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

THE BLACKS BEING THE PRINCIPAL REGION FOR THE TRADE IN CRUDE RUBBER.

for his brethren of the Jewish persuasion, who, in the other parts of the world, are much oppressed; and it was likewise known that it was intended to erect upon the island a city called ARARAT. We are gratified to perceive, by the documents in this day's Extra, that coupled with this colonization is a Declaration of Independence, and the revival of the Jewish government under the protection of the United States,—after the dispersion of that ancient and wealthy people for nearly two thousand years,—and the appointment of Mr. Noah as first Judge. It was intended, pursuant to the public notice, to celebrate the event on the island; and a flag-staff was erected for the Grand Standard of Israel, and other arrangements made; but it was discovered that a sufficient number of boats could not be procured in time to convey all those to the island who were desirous of witnessing the ceremony, and the celebration took place this day in the village, which was both interesting and impressive. At dawn of day, a salute was fired in front of the Court House, and from the terrace facing the lake. At ten o'clock the masonic and military companies assembled in front of the Lodge, and at eleven the line of procession was formed as follows:

ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Grand Marshal, Col. Potter, on horseback.
Music.
Military.
Citizens.
Civil Officers.
United States Officers.
State Officers in Uniform.
President and Trustees of the Corporation.
Tyler.
Stewards.
Entered Apprentices.
Fellow Crafts.
Master Masons.
Senior and Junior Deacons.
Secretary and Treasurer.
Senior and Junior Wardens.
Masters of Lodges.
Past Masters.
Rev. Clergy.
Stewards, with corn, wine and oil.

Globe. { Principal Architect, with square, level and plumb. } Globe.

Bible.

Square and Compass, borne by a Master Mason.

The Judge of Israel,

In black, wearing the judicial robes of crimson silk, trimmed with ermine and a richly embossed golden medal suspended from the neck.

A Master Mason.

Royal Arch Masons.

Knights Templar.

On arriving at the church door, the troops opened to the right and left and the procession entered the aisles, the band playing the Grand March from *Judas Maccabeus.* The full-toned organ commenced its swelling notes, performing the *Jubilate.* On the communion-table lay the cornerstone, with the following inscription (the Hebrew is from Deut., vi., 4):

שמע ישראל יי אלהינו
יי אחד.

ARARAT.

A City of Refuge for the Jews,

Founded by MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH, *in the Month* Tizri *Sept.* 1825 & *in the* 50th *year of* American Independence.

On the stone lay the silver cups with wine, corn and oil.

The ceremonies commenced by the Morning Service, read emphatically by the Rev. Mr. Searle of the Episcopal church. "Before Jehovah's awful Throne," was sung by the choir to the tune of Old Hundred.—Morning Prayer.—First Lesson from Jeremiah, xxxi.—Second Lesson, Zeph. iii. 8. Psalms for the occasion, xcvii, xcviii, xcix., c.; Ps. cxxvii. in verse.—Ante-Communion Service.—Psalm in Hebrew.—Benediction.

Mr. Noah arose and pronounced a discourse, or rather delivered a speech, announcing the re-organization of the Jewish government, and going through a detail of many points of intense interest, to which a crowded auditory listened with profound attention. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the procession returned to the Lodge, and the Masonic brethren and the Military repaired to the Eagle Tavern and partook of refreshments. The church was filled with ladies, and the whole ceremony was impressive and unique. A grand salute of

twenty-four guns was fired by the Artillery, and the band played a number of patriotic airs.

We learn that a vast concourse assembled at Tonawanda, expecting that the ceremonies would be at Grand Island. Many of them came up in carriages, in time to hear the Inaugural speech. The following is the Proclamation, which will be read with great attention and interest. A finer day and more general satisfaction has not been known on any similar occasion.

PROCLAMATION TO THE JEWS.

Whereas, It has pleased Almighty God to manifest to his chosen people the approach of that period, when, in fulfillment of the promises made to the race of Jacob, and as a reward for their pious constancy and triumphant fidelity, they are to be gathered from the four quarters of the globe, and to resume their rank and character among the governments of the earth: and

Whereas, The peace which now prevails among civilized nations, the progress of learning throughout the world, and the general spirit of liberality and toleration which exists, together with other changes favorable to light and to liberty, mark, in an especial manner, the approach of that time, when "peace on earth and good will to man," are to prevail with a benign and extended influence, and the ancient people of God, the first to proclaim His unity and omnipotence, are to be restored to their inheritance, and enjoy the rights of a sovereign, independent people:

Therefore, I Mordecai Manuel Noah, Citizen of the United States of America, late Consul of said States for the City and Kingdom of Tunis, High Sheriff of New York, Counselor at Law, and, by the grace of God, Governor and Judge of Israel, have issued this my Proclamation, announcing to the Jews throughout the world, that an asylum is prepared and hereby offered to them, where they can enjoy that peace, comfort and happiness, which have been denied them through the intolerance and misgovernment of former ages. An asylum in a free and powerful country, where ample protection is secured to their persons, their property, and religious rights; an asylum in a country remarkable for its vast resources, the richness of its soil, and the salubrity of its climate; where industry is encouraged, education promoted, and good faith rewarded. "A land of milk and honey," where Israel may repose in peace, under his "vine and fig tree"; and where our people

may so familiarize themselves with the science of government and the lights of learning and civilization, as may qualify them for that great and final restoration to their ancient heritage, which the times so powerfully indicate.

The asylum referred to is in the State of New York; the greatest State in the American confederacy. New York contains forty-three thousand two hundred and fourteen square miles; divided into fifty-five counties and having six hundred and eighty-seven post-towns and cities, containing one million five hundred thousand inhabitants, together with six million acres of cultivated land, improvements in agriculture and manufactures, in trade and commerce, which include a valuation of three hundred millions of dollars of taxable property. One hundred and fifty thousand militia, armed and equipped; a constitution founded upon an equality of rights, having no test-oaths, and recognizing no religious distinctions, and seven thousand free schools and colleges, affording the blessings of education to four hundred thousand children. Such is the great and increasing State to which the emigration of the Jews is directed.

The desired spot in the State of New York to which I hereby invite my beloved people throughout the world, in common with those of every religious denomination, is called Grand Island, and on which I shall lay the foundation of a City of Refuge, to be called ARARAT.

Grand Island in the Niagara river, is bounded by Ontario on the north, and Erie on the south, and within a few miles of each of those great commercial lakes. The island is nearly twelve miles in length, and varying from three to seven miles in breadth, and contains upwards of seventeen thousand acres of remarkably rich and fertile land. Lake Erie is about two hundred and seventy miles in length, and borders on the States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio; and, westwardly, by the possession of our friends and neighbors, the British subjects of Upper Canada. This splendid lake unites itself, by means of navigable rivers, with Lakes St. Clair, Huron, Michigan and Superior, embracing a lake shore of nearly three thousand miles; and by short canals those vast sheets of water will be connected with the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, thereby establishing a great and valuable internal trade to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. Lake Ontario, on the north, is one hundred and ninety miles in length, and empties into the St. Lawrence; which, passing through the Province of Lower

Canada, carries the commerce of Quebec and Montreal to the Atlantic Ocean.

Thus fortified to the right and left by the extensive commercial resources of the Great Lakes and their tributary streams, within four miles of the sublime Falls of Niagara, affording the greatest water-power in the world for manufacturing purposes,—directly opposite the mouth of the Grand Canal of three hundred and sixty miles inland navigation to the Hudson river and city of New York,—having the fur trade of Upper Canada to the west, and also of the great territories towards the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean; likewise the trade of the Western States of America,—Grand Island may be considered as surrounded by every commercial, manufacturing and agricultural advantage, and from its location is pre-eminently caluculated to become, in time, the greatest trading and commercial depot in the new and better world. To men of worth and industry it has every substantial attraction; the capitalist will be enabled to employ his resources with undoubted profit, and the merchant cannot fail to reap the reward of enterprise in a great and growing republic; but to the industrious mechanic, manufacturer and agriculturist, it holds forth great and improving advantages.

Deprived, as our people have been for centuries, of a right in the soil, they will learn, with peculiar satisfaction, that here they can till the land, reap the harvest, and raise the flocks which are unquestionably their own; and in the full and unmolested enjoyment of their religious rights, and of every civil immunity, together with peace and plenty, they can lift up their voice in gratitude to Him who sustained our fathers in the wilderness, and brought us in triumph out of the land of Egypt; who assigned to us the safe-keeping of His oracles, who proclaimed us His people, and who has ever walked before us like a "cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night."

In His name do I revive, renew and re-establish the government of the Jewish Nation, under the auspices and protection of the Constitution and laws of the United States of America; confirming and perpetuating all our rights and privileges,—our name, our rank, and our power among the nations of the earth,—as they existed and were recognized under the government of the JUDGES. And I hereby enjoin it upon all our pious and venerable Rabbis, our Presidents and Elders of Synagogues, Chiefs of Colleges, and brethren in authority throughout the world, to circulate and

make known this my Proclamation, and give to it full publicity, credence and effect.

It is my will that a census of the Jews throughout the world be taken, and returns of persons, together with their age and occupation, be registered in the archives of the Synagogues where they are accustomed to worship, designating such, in particular, as have been and are distinguished in the useful arts, in science, or in knowledge.

Those of our people who from age, local attachment, or from any other cause, prefer remaining in the several parts of the world which they now respectively inhabit, and who are treated with liberality by the public authorities, are permitted to do so, and are specially recommended to be faithful to the governments which protect them. It is, however, expected, that they will aid and encourage the emigration of the young and enterprising, and endeavor to send to this country such as will add to our national strength and character, by their industry, honor and patriotism.

Those Jews who are in the military employment of the different sovereigns of Europe, are enjoined to keep in their ranks until further orders, and conduct themselves with bravery and fidelity.

I command that a strict neutrality be observed in the pending wars between the Greeks and the Turks, enjoined by considerations of safety towards a numerous population of Jews now under the oppressive dominion of the Ottoman Porte.

The annual gifts which, for many centuries, have been afforded to our pious brethren in our Holy City of Jerusalem (to which may God speedily restore us), are to continue with unabated liberality; our seminaries of learning and institutions of charity in every part of the world are to be increased, in order that wisdom and virtue may permanently prevail among the chosen people.

I abolish forever polygamy among the Jews, which, without religious warrant, still exists in Asia and Africa. I prohibit marriages or giving *Keduchim* without both parties are of a suitable age, and can read and write the language of the country which they respectively inhabit, and which I trust will ensure for their offspring the blessings of education, and, probably, the lights of science.

Prayers shall forever be said in the Hebrew language; but it is recommended that occasional discourses on the principles of the Jewish faith and the doctrines of morality generally, be

delivered in the language of the country; together with such reforms, which, without departing from the ancient faith, may add greater solemnity to our worship.

The Caraite and Samaritan Jews together with the black Jews of India and Africa, and likewise those in Cochin China, and the sect on the coast of Malabar, are entitled to an equality of rights and religious privileges, as are all who may partake of the great Covenant, and obey and respect the Mosaical laws.

The Indians of the American continent, in their admitted Asiatic origin,—in their worship of one God,—in their dialect and language,—in their sacrifices, marriages, divorces, burials, fastings, purifications, punishments, cities of refuge, division of tribes,—in their High Priests,—in their wars and in their victories, being, in all probability, the descendants of lost tribes of Israel, which were carried captive by the King of Assyria, measures will be adopted to make them sensible of their origin, to cultivate their minds, soften their condition and finally re-unite them with their brethren the chosen people.

A capitation tax of three shekels in silver, *per annum*, or one Spanish dollar, is hereby levied upon each Jew throughout the world, to be collected by the Treasurers of the different congregations, for the purpose of defraying the various expenses of re-organizing the government, of aiding emigrants in the purchase of agricultural implements, providing for their immediate wants and comforts, and assisting their families in making their first settlements; together with such free-will offerings as may be generously made in the furtherance of the laudable objects connected with the restoration of the people and the glory of the Jewish nation. A Judge of Israel shall be chosen once in every four years by the Consistory at Paris, at which time proxies from every congregation shall be received.

I do hereby name as Commissioners, the most learned and pious Abraham de Cologna, Knight of the Iron Crown of Lombardy, Grand Rabbi of the Jews, and President of the Consistory at Paris; likewise the Grand Rabbi Andrade of Bordeaux; and also our learned and esteemed Grand Rabbis of the German and Portugal Jews, in London, Rabbis Herschell and Mendola; together with the Honorable Aaron Nunez Cardoza, of Gibraltar, Abraham Busnac, of Leghorn, Benjamin Gradis, of Bordeaux, Dr. E. Gans and Professor Zuntz, of Berlin, and Dr. Leo Woolf of Hamburgh; to aid and assist in carrying into effect the provisions of this my proclamation, with powers

to appoint the necessary agents in the several parts of the world, and to establish Emigration societies, in order that the Jews may be concentrated and capacitated to act as a distinct body, having at the head of each kingdom or republic such presiding officers as I shall upon their recommendation appoint. Instructions to these my Commissioners shall be forthwith transmitted; and a more enlarged and general view of plan, motives and objects will be detailed in the address to the nation. The Consistory at Paris is hereby authorized and empowered to name three discreet persons of competent abilities, to visit the United States, and make such report to the nation as the actual condition of this country shall warrant.

I do appoint Roshodes Adar, February 7th, 1826, to be observed with suitable demonstrations as a day of Thanksgiving to the Lord God of Israel, for the manifold blessings and signal protection which He has deigned to extend to his people, and in order that on that great occasion our prayers may be offered for the continuance of his divine mercy and the fulfillment of all the promises and pledges made to the race of Jacob.

I recommend peace and union among us; charity and goodwill to all; toleration and liberality to our brethren of every religious denomination, enjoined by the mild and just precepts of our holy religion; honor and good faith in the fulfillment of all our contracts; together with temperance, economy and industry in our habits.

I humbly intreat to be remembered in your prayers; and, lastly and most earnestly, I do enjoin you to "Keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes and his commandments and his judgments and his testimonies, as it is written in the laws of Moses, that thou mayest prosper in all thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself."

Given at Buffalo, in the State of New York, this second day of Tizri, in the year of the World, 5586, corresponding with the fifteenth day of September, 1825, and in the fiftieth year of American Independence.

By the Judge,
A. B. Siexas,
Secretary *pro tem.*

The day succeeding the ceremonies,—the "corn and wine and oil," and "the Proclamation,"—the newly con-

stituted Judge in Israel issued another address (also printed in the *Buffalo Patriot, Extra*), setting forth the design of the new city, and invoking the aid and countenance of his brethren abroad, in contributing of their substance and influence to its upraising and population. Thus, with due benediction, ended the ceremonial—the first of its kind in this country—of the corner-stone of an anticipated Hebrew, or any other city, being laid on the communion-table of a Christian church!

The ceremonial, with its procession, "masonic and military," its pomp and magnificence, passed away. Major Noah, a day or two afterwards, departed for his home in New York; the "corner-stone" was taken from the audience-chamber of the church, and deposited against its rear wall, outside; and the great prospective city of Ararat, with its splendid predictions and promises, vanished, "and, like an insubstantial pageant faded,—left not a rack behind."

This was, in fact, the whole affair. The foreign Rabbis denounced Noah and his entire scheme. He had levied taxes of sundry "shekels" on all the Jewish tribes of the world; assumed supreme jurisdiction over their emigration to America, and sought to control their destinies afterwards. But, having no confidence in his plans or financial management, the American Jews, even, repudiated his proceedings; and, after a storm of ridicule heaped on his presumptuous head, the whole thing died away, and passed among the other thousand-and-one absurdities of other character which had preceded it. Noah, however, with his ever-ready wit, and newspaper at hand, replied to all the jeers and flings in good humor, and lost none of the prestige of his character and position, either politically or morally. He was known to be eccentric in many things, and this was put down as the climax of his eccentricities. Poor in money, always, he had no influence in financial circles, yet he was a "power"

in the State. Some years after his Ararat affair he held the office of Judge in one of the criminal city courts of New York, with decided acceptance to the public,—married a wealthy Jewess of high respectability,—reared a family, and died some ten or a dozen years ago in New York, lamented by those who best knew him, as a kind and generous man.

The subsequent history of the corner-stone which we have described, is imperfectly known. It is generally supposed, by those who have heard of the matter at all, that Ararat was actually founded on Grand Island, opposite Tonawanda; and, some thirty years ago, accounts were frequently published by tourists and in the newspapers, that the stone aforesaid stood, encased in a monument, on the actual spot selected by Noah for the building of his city. That the stone did so stand, in a brick monument at Grand Island, opposite Tonawanda, but not on the site of any city, past or present, is a fact; and it came about in this wise: In the summer of the year 1827, having become a resident of Buffalo in April of that year, I saw the stone leaning against the rear underpinning of the little church of St. Paul, next to Pearl street. It has stood there from the time it was removed at its consecration in 1825. When it was removed from the wall of the church, I cannot say. In the year 1833, I made a purchase of Messrs. Samuel Leggett, of New York, Yates and McIntyre, of Albany, and Peter Smith, of Schenectady, and a few other parties, on behalf of a company of gentlemen in Boston, Massachusetts, with whom I had an interest, of the lands they held on Grand Island; amounting in all to about sixteen thousand acres. The average price paid for it was a little more than five dollars per acre. The principal object of the purchase was the valuable white-oak ship-timber abounding there, which it was intended to cut and convey to the Boston ship-yards.

WHITEHAVEN ON GRAND ISLAND, OPPOSITE TONAWANDA, AS IT APPEARED IN 1834.
IT WAS HERE MAJOR NOAH'S ARARAT TABLET WAS SET UP BY MR. LEWIS F. ALLEN.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

A clearing and settlement was made on the island, opposite Tonawanda. Several houses were built, and a steam-mill for sawing the timber into plank, erected. A few months after the purchase, in the year 1834, being one day at the house of General Peter B. Porter, at Black Rock, I saw Major Noah's corner-stone lying in his lawn near the river front of his dwelling. In answer to my question, how it came there, he said, that being in New York some few years previous, and meeting Major Noah, with whom he had been long acquainted, he told him that his corner-stone of Ararat was standing behind St. Paul's church in Buffalo. Noah then requested him to take care of it, and place it in some secure spot, as he wished to have it preserved where it would not excite comment; for he had heard quite enough about it. In compliance with the request, General Porter took the stone, and placed it in his own grounds. Taking a fancy to the stone, I asked General Porter to give it to me, assuring him that I would take it to Grand Island, and give it an honorable position. He complied with my request, and I removed it to the new settlement on the island. A decent architectural structure of brick was erected, standing about fourteen feet high and six feet square. A niche was made in the front, facing the river, in which the stone was placed; and a comely roof, as a top finish, put over it. A steam passenger-boat was running for several years, daily, through the summer, between Buffalo and the Falls of Niagara, touching each way at Whitehaven, the little Grand Island settlement; and many people went on shore to see the monument, which told a false history. Artists and tourists sketched the homely little structure, and copied the inscription on the stone; and the next year a *Guide Book to the Falls of Niagara,* issued in Buffalo by a young man named Ferris, I believe, had the monument, with the "Corner-stone of the Jewish City of Ararat," well engraved and

described, conspicuous in its pages. That, of course, was sufficient authority for the general belief that the City of Ararat was founded on that spot by Mordecai Manuel Noah.

The mill was taken down about the year 1850; and the monument becoming time-worn and dilapidated, was taken down also. We had no Historical Society in Buffalo then, and although the stone was my property, I had become careless of its possession; and, soon afterwards, Mr. Wallace Baxter, who owned a farm a couple of miles above Whitehaven on the river shore, took the stone and carried it to his place. By this removal, the farm of Mr. Baxter—taking the stone as authority—became as much the site of Ararat as Whitehaven had been. In the year 1864, the late Mr. Charles H. Waite, of this city, opened a watering-place—"Sheenwater"—on the opposite, or Canadian side of the island, and Mr. Baxter carried the stone over there for the delectation of the visitors who congregated to that resort,—thus establishing another locality of the renowned Ararat. Mr. Waite's house having burned a few months after the stone was removed there, he carefully placed it in an out-house on the premises, where it remained until the last summer, when I obtained his leave to take it again into my possession, which I did, and deposited it on my farm at the head of Grand Island, one of the original tracts of land which Mr. Leggett had purchased for Major Noah. There, too, had the traveling public seen it, might have been located another site for the Hebrew city. A short time afterwards I had the stone taken to my premises on Niagara street, in this city; the same to which General Porter, then owning them, had removed it, previous to the year 1834. A few weeks later it was again—and, I trust, finally—removed, and, on the second day of January, in the year 1866, deposited in the official room of the Buffalo Historical Society, where it is duly

honored with a conspicuous position against its eastern wall; leaving the Hebrew "City of Ararat" a myth—never having existence, save in the prurient imagination of its projector, a record of which the tablet bears.

Like the dove which went out from the ark of his great patriarchal progenitor, the stone of the later Noah has come back to its domicil, not in the ark, but to the city which, in its embryo existence, first gave it shelter and protection; and, we trust,—unlike the dove,—to again go out no more. Just forty years from its exodus from the communion-table of the church of St. Paul, like the Children of ancient Israel, has this eventful stone—meantime crossing, not the parted waters of the Red Sea, but the transparent waters of the Niagara, resting by the wayside, and traveling through the wilderness in circuitous wanderings—found its home in the rooms of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Thus ends the strange, eventful history of Major Noah, his Hebrew city and its corner-stone. Although that portion of the public, away from Buffalo, who ever heard anything of this modern Ararat, have believed, since the year 1825, that Major Noah actually purchased Grand Island, and founded his city, and laid his corner-stone upon it, the fact is, that he never owned an acre of its land, nor founded the city, nor laid a corner-stone *there.* Nor have I been able, after diligent inquiry, to ascertain that he ever set foot on the island. I have heard sundry traditions, lately, of his going there at the time he visited Buffalo in the year 1825. All these were contradictory, and partially guess-work; no one, so far as I have ascertained, ever saw him there. Thus, that point may be considered as definitely settled.

The story of "Ararat" will hardly be complete without the account of a queer old Irishman named Denison, who, with his family, about the year 1820, had "squatted" on one of Mr. Leggett's lots, on the head of Grand Island,

near the mouth of Beaver creek,—now comprising a part of the pleasant grounds of "Falconwood,"—which I laid out on the river shore as a watering-place, some years ago, and since disposed of to a company of gentlemen in this city.

When Major Noah came to Buffalo to found his city, the old gentleman hearing of it, and supposing he really owned the land, came up from Buffalo to see him. He told the Major that he lived on his land, and that he had invented a "perpetual motion"; and if he would let him occupy it for his lifetime, he would give him the right to use his invaluable mechanical power, which, beyond all doubt, would make his, the Major's, fortune. Noah good-naturedly told him that he then had no time to investigate the merits of his discovery, but that he might continue to stay on the land, and when he had time to look into it, he would determine the matter. So it rested, and the credulous old man supposed, and so claimed, that from that time the land was to be his own.

When I took possession of the island lands, as agent of the new proprietors, I told Denison that he must give me possession of the ground he occupied; that I had no wish to drive him off forcibly, but would let him remain, without payment of rent, until he could find a home elsewhere within a reasonable time. But he was disposed to do no such thing. He had made a contract with Major Noah for his "perpetual motion," but was willing to allow me the same privilege that he had extended to him, and insisted on its performance! Being somewhat skeptical as to the utility of his "motion," I declined the proposition, but, to gratify him, would look at it. With a great deal of circumlocution in its description, he produced a little section of a piece of wood about four inches in diameter, circular in form, flat on its sides, about one inch thick on one disc, and tapering to a quarter of an inch thick on the opposite disc, and a hole of half an

inch thick through the center, through which he ran a stick on which it could revolve. Then he put the thick side of the disc vertically into a dish of water, and holding on to each end of the stick or journal, the block forthwith revolved half way round out of the water, and letting the thin edge take its place when it stopped —the thin edge in the water, and the thick one out. That was his "perpetual motion!" He declared his discovery complete; nor would he give it up, but insisted on retaining the land. After waiting a year or more, he would listen to no terms, and a suit of ejectment was commenced against him in the Supreme Court. The late Thomas T. Sherwood defended him, brought his "motion" into court, talked to the jury as though he believed in it, and insisted on the fulfillment of the "contract," as he pleased to call it. It is needless to say that Denison lost his suit, and obstinately refused to leave the place until the sheriff forcibly put him out of possession,—at an expense to the plaintiff of nearly two hundred dollars.

As no patent for that notable invention was ever obtained, and some of the present proprietors of Falconwood are extensively engaged in manufacturing, where motive power is costly to them, I will, at any time they wish it, with great pleasure, give them a model of the discovery.

MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH

To Mr. Allen's graphic and valuable narrative, a few further facts about Major Noah may appropriately be added.

He was born in Philadelphia, July 19, 1785, and died in New York City, March 22, 1851, in his sixty-sixth year. He was a son of Manuel Mordecai Noah (whose given name he bore in reversed order), of Charleston,

South Carolina, a patriot of the American Revolution. His mother, Zipporah Phillips Noah, was of a prominent Philadelphia family—prominent at the bar, in Congress, and in the United States Navy. On the death of Mrs. Noah, her husband, in a fit of melancholia, disappeared. One of the most dramatic of the many remarkable episodes in Major Noah's life, was the discovery of his missing father. When on his way to Tunis as United States consul, he entered a restaurant in Paris, and was presently struck by the appearance of a soldier in a distant corner of the room, dressed in the Continental uniform—blue coat, buff vest, knee breeches, with his hair done up in a queue. Noah went up to him and greeted him in French; the stranger replied in English, saying, "Are you not an American?" Noah said he was. Then the other replied: "So am I. My name is Manuel Mordecai Noah." "My God!" said the Major, "You are my father!" In this way father and son were reunited. This strange anecdote does not appear in Major Noah's own account of his sojourn in Paris, but is given by Simon Wolf, in his memoir, "Mordecai Manuel Noah, a biographical sketch," published in Philadelphia in 1897.

The youthful Noah had as school mates John and Stephen Decatur, with the latter of whom, as Commodore in the United States Navy, he was to have much to do, when U. S. consul at Tunis. Major Noah's principal service in that post was to ransom several Americans held in slavery by the Bey of Algiers. An episode of his service was highly dramatic as told by Wolf:

"On one occasion the consul of Germany was set upon and attacked by a detachment of Janizaries, led by a son of the Bey. He fled for protection to the American consul, who gave him effective asylum. The Janizaries threateningly demanded the surrender of the German consul, but Major Noah raised the American flag and defied them. In resisting the attempt to force an en-

trance to the consular building, Major Noah drew his sword and cut down the son of the Bey. Reinforcements were sent, and the delivery of the German consul insolently demanded by force of arms. Seeing that resistance would be useless, he surrendered his sword and tore from his coat the gold stripes which indicated his diplomatic office, saying that if the German consul were arrested, he would also be arrested with him and share his captivity. Accordingly the two consuls were led away by their captors, but after a few hours detention were released."

According to this biographer Major Noah won the enmity of the Algerians because he opposed the annual payment of $200,000 which the United States made to Algiers for the privilege of navigating the Mediterranean. The claim is made that Noah originated the motto: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." Simon Wolf's memoir, though the best we know of, is by no means free from error. It puts the Buffalo episode in 1820 instead of 1825, says that Noah erected, "opposite Tonawanda, a monument of brick and wood," and is otherwise confused and wrong regarding circumstances which are correctly stated by Mr. Allen. He is not the only writer who has wrongly told this story; notably Israel Zangwill, whose story, "Noah's Ark," has far more merit as fiction than as history; although in justice be it added: as historical fiction goes, it is a masterpiece. The author obviously was familiar with Mr. Allen's trustworthy account.

In later years Major Noah became sheriff—his biographer says "High Sheriff"—of New York county. When elected High Sheriff, some dissatisfied and bigoted persons remarked that it had come to a pretty pass for a Jew to hang a Christian. "Pretty Christian, forsooth, who deserves hanging," retorted Major Noah, plainly having the better of it. Very many anecdotes

are recorded, illustrating his wit, his charity and his ability. He was made president of the Jewish Charity Organization of New York City, and when it was merged into a B'nai B'rith lodge he was its first president. "Major Noah," says Mr. Wolf, "was the last Jew that was buried within the limits of New York City. . . . The epitaph on his tomb reads as follows: 'The warm hand is cold, the kindly eye is dim, the generous heart has ceased to beat.' "

Major Noah's published writings, which, in addition to his newspaper work, are numerous, are still of no little interest. He was long known for his plays, several of which were successful on the stage for many years. Among them are "The Forest of Sorrento," "Paul and Alexis," known later as "The Wandering Boys," "The Siege of Tripoli," "The Grecian Captive," "Marion, or the Hero of Lake George," and "She Would be a Soldier, or the Plains of Chippewa." A copy of the rare original edition of the last named, in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society, bears the New York imprint: "Published at Longworth's Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare Gallery, G. L. Birch & Co., printers, 1819." It purports to be "an historical drama," and had its first performance June 21, 1819. The second act is laid at York, Upper Canada, now Toronto; and the battle of Chippewa furnishes a scene for some of the action. The play is not, however, a contribution to the historical literature of the region; but it has humor and action, and we can well believe the statement by Major Noah's biographer, that "in the palmy days of American patriotism . . . . the theatres all over the country always produced Major Noah's patriotic plays on the evening of the Fourth of July, the favorites being 'She Would be a Soldier' and 'Marion, or the Hero of Lake George.' "

Major Noah's most elaborate piece of authorship was

his volume of "Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States, in the Years 1813, '14 and '15." This was published in New York and London in 1819, and is still, if the reader care for these lands and for personal adventure, an exceedingly interesting book. It is claimed, we cannot say with what truth, that this is the first book of European travel, by an American. Noah having been appointed United States consul "for the city and kingdom of Tunis," set out on his mission in May, 1813. The vessel on which he sailed was captured by the English. During his detention by them he met Lord Keith, who made of him a curious enquiry:

" 'I observe,' says he, 'in your papers a great deal about Buffalo, in the State of New York. I have been in that quarter and cannot recollect the place, to be sure it is near fifty years since I have been there, still I am confident that it did not exist at that time,' and he produced an old map to corroborate his opinion."

"I explained to him," adds Major Noah, "the nature and extent of the improvements which have since taken place, not alone in the State of New York, but throughout every State in the Union."

This conversation, it should be borne in mind, occurred in 1813, the very year in which the first village of Buffalo was burned. If Lord Keith was hereabouts fifty years prior to that time, he would have seen this region, probably in British service, in or about the year 1763—four years after the defeat of the French at Fort Niagara, and long before Buffalo was thought of.

After three years of foreign service Major Noah was recalled, it being alleged by the Department of State that his religion impaired his efficiency, and that certain financial operations were disapproved. Ultimately the money charge was removed. No fair-minded reader can peruse Major Noah's account of his service as consul, without feeling the injustice which he suffered at the

hands of President Madison and Secretary of State Monroe, because he was a Jew. It was no doubt with a view of justifying himself before the public that his experiences and public service were told in detail. The confidence of the public in his uprightness appears to have been unshaken by his removal from office. Then and throughout his life his reputation was that of a man of integrity.

His period of travel and public service, it will be noted, was some years before he came to Buffalo to found a refuge city for the Jews. In later years he gave much attention to the history and condition of his race; delivered many lectures and wrote many papers bearing on this subject. The Historical Society library has the following pamphlets by him:

"Discourse on the evidences of the American Indians being the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. Delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, Clinton Hall, New York. James VanNorden, 27 Pine street, 1837, 8vo, pp. 40.

"Discourse on the restoration of the Jews: delivered at the Tabernacle, (N. Y.), October 28 and December 2, 1844. With a map of the Land of Israel. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff street, 1845. 8vo, pp. 55.

SWORDS AND SOLDIERS

During the past half century the swords and sabers, belts and sashes of a good many soldiers have been brought for safe keeping to this institution. Most of the swords were formerly carried by Buffalo soldiers in the Civil War; and a number of them were the weapons of distinguished men. Our collection includes swords of Colonial days, of the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Upper Canada Rebellion, the Mexican War, the Civil War, and the War with Spain. At present writing the Society has not a single sword that figured in the recent great war. Did any swords figure in that war? The sword as a weapon is obsolete. Indeed for a good many years it has been little more than a dress ornament, its presentation a compliment to the recipient.

But though the sword, like the spear and the halberd, really belongs to an earlier era in warfare, those in the Historical Society museum not only recall the wars of the past but have many personal associations with soldiers of fine record, whose memory we honor.

For instance, here is the sword—not a dress sword, but a service weapon—which was carried by Major General Jacob Brown at the battle of Sackett's Harbor, May 29, 1813. After the battle, this sword was given by General Brown to Captain Samuel McNitt, who, in the words of General Brown, "commanded the only militia company that stood its ground during the fight."

Here, too, is the beautiful sword, elaborately chased, which was presented to Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Towson "by the citizens of the village of Buffalo, for his uniform gallant conduct on the Niagara Frontier in

1814." The sword was presented in 1816, at what was beyond question an interesting occasion, for Towson was popular; the remains (at least the site) of Towson's battery, near Fort Erie, may still be seen. In 1905 this sword was found, in a distant city. It was bought by Mr. Andrew Langdon and given to the Society—a most interesting and appropriate relic, returned after almost a century to the town that originally gave it to a good soldier.

Three swords in our collection are of the period of the Upper Canada Rebellion, or as it is more commonly called, the Patriot War of 1837-'38. One of these belonged to David Burt, brigadier general, 47th Brigade, a prominent citizen of Buffalo in the early days, whose house on Niagara Square, remodeled and enlarged, became the old Central High School. Another was carried, perhaps used, in the Patriot War by William D. Wells of the Buffalo Artillery of that day, under Captain Schwartz. A third belonged to Nelson Randall, who was twice a major general of militia: once under the old organization, and later under the new. General Randall was a native of Columbia, in Herkimer county, New York, where he was born in 1801. He came to Buffalo in 1825, and had command of militia here, under General Winfield Scott, in the Patriot War, to which period this sword belongs. He died in Buffalo, much esteemed, February 26, 1864.

Buffalo has had no more gallant soldier than Daniel D. Bidwell, who won the rank of Brigadier General, and lost his life in the Civil War. Here is preserved a sword given him when he was captain, by the famous D. Co., Buffalo City Guard, February 22, 1857. It was the pride and ambition of young men of Buffalo at that time, to belong to "D" Co., long since merged in the 74th regiment, National Guard; and this sword is probably the only visible existing reminder of their affection for

and admiration of the "born soldier" who more than anyone else developed the organization. The presentation was made at the old Arsenal, February 23, 1857—Washington's Birthday that year falling on Sunday; "a splendid sword was presented to Major Bidwell," says the *Commercial,* in its report; "by whom, we did not learn. He deserves the gift, and if called upon to use it in earnest, will never dishonor the blade." This expression of confidence, so unqualifiedly given, was to be amply justified a few years later, when the storm of the Civil War broke over the country. "D" Co., it may be added, followed up the celebration with a "grand ball" —one of the grandest, we are sure—at the then new St. James Hall. A few years later, sword presentations were to become so common as to excite little comment. The swords of many gallant Buffalo soldiers are preserved in many homes. Some of them might well be added to our collection!

Several of the Civil War swords recall men of note and occasions of interest. Among them is one formerly carried by Dr. William W. Potter. Here is the sword of that capable soldier, Lieutenant Colonel Michael Wiedrich, of Battery I, First Regiment—"Wiedrich's Battery," as it was called; and here are two swords formerly belonging to Major George H. Stowits of the 100th N. Y. Regiment. One of these swords was lost and found, after 25 years—discovered, the story goes, by a friend of Major Stowits who observed it hanging over the bar of an East Side saloon. It was originally given to Major Stowits by teachers of the Buffalo public schools.

Another sword with a bit of history is that of Captain, later Major, John Norris, of the 11th New York Cavalry. It was presented to him by members of the Bar of Buffalo, October 5, 1862. Captain Norris had it with him when wounded and taken prisoner. A Confederate

officer, seeing the inscription on the sword, returned it to him after the war.

Norris is a unique figure in the list of distinguished Buffalo soldiers. He was an orphan boy, bound out to a farmer from a charitable institution; a youth of absolutely no known family connections. The story of his early struggles, the abuse he received at the hands of a cruel master, from whom he ran away and traveled on foot a long way; of his education, gained in spite of drawbacks, until he could teach school, in New Jersey; of his fine career in the army, and good record as a lawyer in Buffalo—something of all this is told in the addresses made and memorial adopted at a meeting of the Bar of Buffalo, a few days after his death, in November, 1876. The sword preserved by the Historical Society was given to Norris by his lawyer friends. He enlisted August 26, 1862, and was mustered out February 23, 1865. After his death the sword came to the Historical Society, and the Bar of Buffalo erected a monument at his grave.

Another presentation sword in the collection is that of Colonel (later General) Adrian R. Root of Buffalo, of the 94th New York Veteran Volunteers, commanding the district of Annapolis, Md. It was given to Colonel Root by the Provost Guard of Annapolis, as a token of esteem, at Christmas, 1863. The Historical Society has many souvenirs of General Root—he was brevetted—including a bundle of fine letters which he wrote to his mother from camp and battlefield during the Civil War.

A handsome sword, presented to Colonel James A. Jewell in 1862 by B Co. of the 74th; a dress sword presented to Captain Rodney M. Taylor, Third Regiment, New York Cavalry, by the City of Buffalo, January 5, 1863; the sword of Major General Nelson Randall; a sword presented to Captain C. H. Rauert by members of Concordia Lodge 143, F. and A. M., of Buffalo; and

many others, including unidentified swords found on battlefields of the Revolution—Yorktown and Saratoga—of the War of 1812, of the Mexican War—one taken from the body of a Mexican officer at Resaca de la Palma, May 9, 1846—and two or three Confederate swords are in the collection. One of these was captured in a hand-to-hand encounter at Baton Rouge, La., in 1863, by John M. Carter of the 116th N. Y. Volunteers, a Buffalo regiment. If we but knew to whom it originally belonged, it might be returned to his descendants or relatives!

SOUVENIRS OF MAJOR GENERAL BENNET RILEY

None of these heroes of American wars had a more varied or more gallant record than Major General Bennet Riley, whose portrait, showing him in uniform of the period of the War with Mexico, is sure to attract the attention of visitors in the north hall (the usual entrance hall) of the Historical Building.

The painting, by our own Sellstedt, shows a dignified man of strong features, with gray hair and close-trimmed side whiskers, wearing a blue coat with brass buttons, epaulets with one star, white trousers and a yellow sash. One hand rests on a cannon, the other holds a plumed hat. In a show case close by are preserved General Riley's hat, sash, epaulets, two dress swords, and a medal and snuff-box presented to him by the people of California. On the medal one reads:

"To Bvt. Brig. Gen. B. Riley, ex-governor of California, the man who came to do his duty and accomplished his purpose." It was presented by citizens of Monterey, in July, 1850—an important period in the history of the State. The snuff-box, made of gold nuggets, with the initial "R" in pearls, was a gift, in behalf of the State, December 15, 1849. The two dress swords were given him, one by the State of Maryland, in recognition of his service in the War of 1812 and the Mexican War; the other by the General Assembly of Missouri for his effective conduct of campaigns against Indians on the frontiers of that State.

General Riley was a former resident of Buffalo; members of his family now reside here; and his career was

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SOUVENIRS AND PORTRAIT OF MAJ. GEN. BENNET RILEY.

of such unusual variety of experience as to make fitting a brief review of it in this connection. His story is indeed the story that is recalled by the Riley relics.

To begin with a man's death is not the conventional fashion in biographies, but in this case it brings the subject nearer, and perhaps more vividly, to the younger generation. There are possibly some persons now living in Buffalo who remember General Riley's funeral, but as it occurred on a June day in 1853, they are, obviously, no longer young. It is equally obvious that they were quite young then. The house where General Riley died on June 9th of the year named, still stands on Main street, though much changed. It is the frame dwelling now a part of St. Joseph's Collegiate Institute, No. 1238 Main street. It was General Riley's home, after his years of warfare were over. He called it "Soldier's Retreat," and it may be believed that the neighborhood, then somewhat suburban, was more of a retreat, and more restful, than at present.

An interesting incident is told of this house. In the decade of the '50's there was keen rivalry between Buffalo and Oswego in port business. One DeWitt C. Littlejohn of Oswego was so active in promoting Oswego's interests, that the idea was conceived of bringing him to Buffalo to devote his exceptional talents to the good of this city. An organization, perhaps the Board of Trade, offered him a house and lot if he would come. He agreed; and General Riley having recently died, and the property in the market, it was purchased and presented to Mr. Littlejohn, who accordingly became a resident of Buffalo. Just what good accrued to the city by this exceptionally generous reception, the present chronicler knows not. After a few years Mr. Littlejohn went back to Oswego, and the property later passed to the Diocese of Buffalo. It has been used by St. Joseph's Collegiate Institute for many years, the principal exterior change from Gen-

eral Riley's time being the addition of a mansard roof.

Riley street, close by, running from Main to Fillmore, preserves the name of this veteran of many wars. On one occasion the Common Council, true to its habitual fondness for changing street names, proposed to substitute something else for "Riley street." After it had been explained that the street bore the name of one of Buffalo's most distinguished men—perhaps the most distinguished soldier, who has made Buffalo his home—the name was, happily, allowed to remain on the map. Fort Riley, Kansas, formerly Fort Centre, was also named for him.

Bennet Riley was born in Maryland in 1787; entered the United States Army as ensign of rifles in 1813, and was promoted to a third lieutenancy the same year. In 1814 he was made second lieutenant; and at the reduction of the army, which took place at the close of the war with Great Britain, he was retained as lieutenant in what was styled the Rifle Regiment. During the War of 1812 he had distinguished himself and won the approbation of his commanding officers. "The St. Lawrence frontier," says a biography of him published at the time of his death, "was the scene of his early military exploits; and the parties of British and Indians from over the lines from La Colle Mills to Lake Champlain, soon came to dread the murderous rifles of the parties commanded by Lieutenant Riley."

He became a first lieutenant in 1817, a captain in 1818. The Rifle Regiment had been stationed on the western and northwestern frontiers since the War of 1812, and Captain Riley, in a great variety of situations, steadily added to his reputation as a cool-headed, vigorous, ever-ready soldier. In 1821 he was assigned to the Fifth Infantry, and later the same year transferred to the Sixth Infantry.

In 1823 Captain Riley's company formed part of an expedition up the Missouri river as far as the Yellow-

stone. The expedition was commanded by Colonel Henry H. Leavenworth. The records of the time state that "Riley distinguished himself in actions with the Indians, particularly with the Arickarees." This led to his being brevetted major, after ten years' service as captain.

In the spring of 1829 Major Riley was ordered with four companies of the Sixth Infantry to escort a caravan of traders over the Santa Fe trail, to assist them and protect them if necessary from Indian attacks. This service took the United States troops to the boundary between the United States and New Mexico, not then in the Union; which, says the journal kept by one of the officers of the expedition, "as a protection to trade, was like the establishment of a ferry in the mid-channel of a river." Major Riley's official report of the expedition is an interesting contribution to the history of one of the famous highways of the West.

In 1832 his regiment shared in the Black Hawk war—the fearful and fatal "cholera campaign." In 1837 we find him as major of the Fourth Infantry, stationed at Fort Gibson on the Arkansas river. His service for many years, was on frontiers then remote from civilization. From Fort Gibson he was ordered to Florida, where he had an active part in the Seminole war. In 1839 he was promoted to be lieutenant colonel of the Second Infantry regiment, at that time operating in Florida. He and his regiment were very active in the prosecution of the war, and were frequently engaged with the enemy. In 1844 he was brevetted colonel "to rank from June, 1840, the day on which was fought the battle of Chokochatta, Florida, in which he particularly distinguished himself by bravery and good conduct, and for long, meritorious and gallant services."

In 1842, at the close of the war in Florida, he was ordered to Buffalo, and for more than three years his headquarters were at the famous Poinsett Barracks, the

only existing structure of which is now No. 641 Delaware avenue, the home of Mr. Ansley Wilcox, a beautiful dwelling to which attach manifold historic associations, not necessary to recite here.[1] During the few years that this military post was in existence, its officers shared in the social life of the town, and many a Buffalo daughter "married into the Army." It was during his command at Poinsett Barracks that General Riley became endeared to the citizens of Buffalo, and formed friendships and associations which led him, at the close of his active military career, to fix upon this city for his residence during his declining years.

Many were the regrets when he was ordered away—at first to Detroit, but soon after, in the summer of 1846, to Mexico, to join the victorious army of General Taylor. Being delayed some time, to fill up his regiment, he did not join the army in Mexico until after the battle of Monterey. In January, 1847, he led his command in the march from Monterey to Tampico, at which point he joined General Scott, and was at the landing of Vera Cruz, where he commanded the second brigade of Twiggs' division. After the fall of Vera Cruz, the division to which Riley belonged was pushed on towards Mexico City, and found the enemy in force at Cerro Gordo, on the 18th of April, 1847. "For gallant and meritorious conduct," in this battle he was brevetted brigadier general. He won rapid promotion in this campaign. "As the army approached the City of Mexico, Twiggs' division had the enemy's strongly entrenched camp to carry at Contreras. To Riley's brigade, sustained by reserves, was confided under the direction of General Smith, the assaulting of the work." The way they did it, is matter of history. Riley received the brevet of major general for gallant conduct in this battle, August 20, 1847.

[1]For an account and plan of Poinsett Barracks, see Buff. Hist. Soc'y Publications, Vol. VIII.

When the American troops withdrew from Mexico, General Riley's regiment was ordered to Pascagoula, Louisiana, and thence to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. In the fall of 1848 he was ordered to California with his regiment.

There is preserved in the War Department a long and interesting letter written by General Riley on board the U. S. transport ship *Iowa,* dated at Valparaiso, Chili, February 12, 1849, in which, after reporting an "uncommonly short passage of thirty-seven days from Rio Janeiro," he summarizes the news from California, as it had reached him. The gold excitement was at its height, sailors and soldiers deserted service and ran off to the diggings by the hundred, so that he had fixed upon Monterey as his port, because it was further from temptation than San Francisco.

General Riley was commissioned to California in command of the Military Department, and also became *ex-officio,* provisional Governor. The period of his administration was a stormy one, for the status of the region was not fixed, nor any adequate civil government provided for.

It was in April, 1849, that General Riley relieved Colonel R. B. Mason as Governor, and took up the task of establishing a government for the country. He was by temperament well adapted to this work; he had a judicial mind, was without prejudice, and it was soon seen that when he had thoroughly studied a problem and decided on a course of action, he could neither be coaxed nor bullied. In June he issued two proclamations, in one of them stating that it had been his intention to call a convention to formulate and adopt a state constitution; but that it had been decided to postpone action until it was learned what action, if any, had been taken by Congress. At this time the population of California consisted chiefly of old stock of Mexican origin,

and of the gold-seekers and others who joined the rush, all intensely American. In this summer of 1849, General Riley made a tour of many of the mining camps, and established military posts for the protection of the miners. He held that the old laws of the region should remain in force, until superceded by Act of Congress, which he deemed the only competent authority. When the long-expected steamer arrived, instead of bringing new territorial officers appointed by Congress, empowered to reorganize the government, she brought only a collector of the revenue. The men of California at this time were in much the same attitude, in one respect at least, as had been their Colonial forebears at the time of the Revolution. They did not propose to be taxed for a government in which they had no representation. There were heated mass meetings, and apparently the population were on the verge of rebelling against the United States and setting up an independent government. General Riley issued another proclamation and announced September first as the day for a state convention to be held at Monterey. The outcome of this convention was the adoption of a State constitution, and the organization of the machinery of civil government. At the first election, Peter H. Burnett was chosen Governor, and to him General Riley handed over the office.

A memorial presented to Congress in March, 1850, signed with others by John C. Fremont, reviewed the events in which General Riley had shared, and said, in part:

"In order to provide for the immediate wants of their respective districts, the citizens of Sonora and Sacramento had elected, early in the year 1849, District Legislative Assemblies. The district of San Francisco, in consequence of difficulties between their alcalde and the two town councils claiming jurisdiction, resorted to the

same method, and elected a Legislative Assembly. These acts on the part of the people of the respective districts brought about various collisions between the people and the *de facto* government of which General Riley, who arrived on the 13th of April, 1849, was now the head. A very excited and bitter feeling of hostility to this *de facto* government was quite universal, and this feeling was strengthened by the failure of Congress to pass a bill establishing a territorial government in California . . . . The Legislative Assembly of the District of San Francisco published an address to the people of California, asserting that 'they believed it to be their duty to earnestly recommend to their fellow citizens the propriety of electing at least twelve delegates from each district to attend a general convention. . . . for the purpose of organizing a government for the whole territory.' . . . . This recommendation met with universal approval.

"Simultaneous with this action, though without any knowledge thereof, General Riley issued at Monterey, 130 miles distant, on the 3rd day of June, 1849, a proclamation recommending the election of delegates to a convention for forming a State Constitution, said body to convene at Monterey on the 1st day of September following. He also evinced a disposition, which had not been manifested before, to put in immediate, complete and fair operation, the whole machinery of the *de facto* government, of which he claimed to be the head."

The memorial goes on to recite how, in spite of jealousy for precedence, the recommendations of General Riley found general approval. He had not "claimed" to be the head, he *was* the head of the government; and credit for initiative is none the less due him, because, 130 miles away and unknown to him, a body of men had already taken some steps towards the end which ultimately was attained under the plan put forth by him. The gold medal and snuff-box, above alluded to,

now preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society, testify to the esteem in which he was held when he retired from office.

Ordered from California to take command of his regiment, at that time serving on the Rio Grande, he reached New York, but greatly broken in health. Unable to continue in active service, he selected Buffalo for his residence in retirement, and here the last years of his life were passed.

The funeral, June 11th, 1853, was a military one. The escort included the 65th Regiment led by Colonel Scroggs, and "D" Co., Independent Guard, commanded by Major Bidwell. On the coffin rested the plumed hat, sword and sash; and a riderless led horse, with reversed boots in the stirrups and crepe on the spurs, impressed a vast throng of onlookers, with old-time army traditions. At Forest Lawn, the burial service and three volleys by the regiment, ended the chapter.

THE GREAT WEST POINT CHAIN

An object of great historic interest is a link from one of the chains which was put across the Hudson river at West Point during the Revolution by order of General Washington, to prevent the British from ascending the river above that point. It was forged at the Sterling Iron Works, in Orange County, New York, by Noble & Townsend; and has been deposited in the museum of the Buffalo Historical Society by heirs of Daniel Jackson Townsend, of Niagara Falls, N. Y.

It is 3 feet 9½ inches long, 13 inches wide, and the bar-iron from which it was made is 3½ inches in diameter. There is a gap in the link about 5 inches long.

Readers who have visited the West Point Military Academy will recall that near the parade are preserved 13 links and two clevises of a great chain that was stretched across the river, buoyed on logs, during the Revolution; but these links are only a little over two feet in length, of iron 2½ inches square, and weigh about 140 pounds each. The link in the museum in Buffalo weighs much more than that, and was one of several links, of extra size, which were used in the chain at points where the strain was greatest.

Early in the war, General Washington and Congress decided that it was necessary to obstruct the navigation of the Hudson river, to prevent the British vessels from passing up, annoying the inhabitants and attacking the American troops. Various fortifications were erected, and an iron chain was stretched across the river from Fort Montgomery to Anthony's Nose. This chain was put in place in the autumn of 1776. It was more than

1800 feet long, and was supported on logs; but it soon broke, because of the pressure of the water. It was repaired, and held until October 4, 1777, when a British expedition under Sir Henry Clinton sailed up the river, attacked and reduced Forts Clinton and Montgomery, and captured and carried off the great chain. It was sent to England and subsequently to Gibraltar, where the English put it to good use in protecting the shipping at the moles. This chain was made in part at Ticonderoga, in part at Poughkeepsie, of bar iron one and a half inches square.

The Americans were not discouraged. They decided to make another and stronger chain, and to buoy it across the river at a point where the stream was narrower. The place selected was at West Point, where the river bends sharply to the east, opposite Constitution Island, and then continues its southerly course. This was a difficult place for sail-vessels attempting to get up the river, for at the bend they had to tack and invariably lost way. This made them less likely to break through an obstruction at that point, especially as they would be under the guns of the enemy.

Another great chain was contracted for, with the Sterling Iron Works. Work on it was begun in February, 1778. The agreement under which it was made is preserved among the Clinton papers in the New York State Library. That agreement, executed between Noble, Townsend & Co., proprietors of the Sterling Iron Works, and Hugh Hughes, Deputy Quartermaster General of the United States, stipulates that the chain shall be 500 yards long; "each link about two feet long, to be made of the best Sterling iron, two inches and one-quarter square, or as near thereto as possible, with a swivel to every 100 feet and a clevis to every 1,000 feet." It was to be paid for at the rate of £440 for every ton weight of chain and anchors—undoubtedly in Continental

money; and it was to be finished and delivered in four months.

As the work progressed, it was realized that to meet the heavier strain at some points, larger links were advisable. Accordingly, some were made of iron as large as three and a half inches square, and three and a half feet long. The link in the museum of the Buffalo Historical Society is one of the largest that was made.

The ore was mined near the Sterling forge, melted into pig-iron and wrought into bars, which in turn were bent and forged into links. In the primitive conditions of the time, and in a wild and frontier region, it must have been a picturesque scene at the famous old forge. Because of its great weight, the chain had to be hauled to the river a few links at a time. It was taken over the mountains on mule-back and in ox-carts, and welded together at several forges along the Hudson from New Windsor to West Point. It was completed and in place within contract time. May 1, 1778, George Clinton wrote from Poughkeepsie to Governor Trumbull:

"The chain, which exceeds the old one in point of strength, was drawn across the river at West Point on the 30th of the last month; but the works for its defense at that place, tho' in good forwardness, are far from being complete."

In Thacher's "Military Journal," under date of September 26, 1780, occurs this description:

"As additional security, an iron chain of immense strength is thrown across at the short bend of the river, and fixed to huge blocks on each shore, and under the fire of batteries on both sides of the river. The links of this chain (several of which, we may add, still remain at the Military Academy) are about 12 inches wide and 18 long, the bars about two inches square. It is buoyed up by very large logs, of about 16 feet long, pointed at the ends, to lessen their opposition to the force of the

current at flood and ebb tides. The logs are placed at short distances from each other, the chain carried over them, and made fast to each by staples. There are also a number of anchors at proper distances, with cables made fast to the chain, to give it greater stability."

The great West Point chain proved, with other defenses that were established, sufficient for the purpose for which it was designed. No British ship ever passed it. It helped materially to defeat the efforts of the enemy to gain control of the Hudson and possession of the country about West Point.

According to some statements, the chain was finally taken from the river, "unbroken and in good order."[1] According to others, a considerable part of it still lies in the deep water off Constitution Island.

Of the links of the West Point chain the largest collection is in the Military Academy grounds at West Point. There are several at Ringwood, New Jersey, the country seat of the late Abram S. Hewitt; others are at the Redwood Library in Newport, R. I.; two are in the museum at Stony Point in Rockland County; and one was given to the New York Historical Society by the late Mr. Nicholas Fish. This last had been bequeathed by Thurlow Weed to the Hon. Hamilton Fish, with the statement that his father, Col. Nicholas Fish, had "aided in stretching the chain across the Hudson River." In the autumn of 1780 Nicholas Fish was Deputy Adjutant General at West Point, and it may have fallen to him to take the chain down for the winter or possibly to put it in place once more when spring came again. South of the chain there was placed a boom consisting of massive timbers fastened together with heavy iron bands, of which the only known portion is preserved at the Hasbrouck House, Washington's headquarters, in Newburgh.

1. Eager's "Orange Co.," p. 567.

Three links were presented to the New York State Library in 1858 by Gen. Franklin Townsend of Albany, a great-grandson of the maker. The principal facts in this little sketch are drawn from an admirable monograph entitled "The Sterling Furnace and the West Point Chain," by Macgrane Coxe, privately printed in 1906. To this are referred those who desire a fuller acquaintance with the subject. Our purpose has been to tell in brief the story of one of the most "historic" articles in our museum.

OLD KING HENDRICK

In 1891 Mr. Isaac W. Brownell of New York City gave to the Buffalo Historical Society a very old and curious picture. It had been treasured by eight generations of the Brownell family in Massachusetts, having been brought from London by a Brownell who was captain of a merchantman, about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The picture, which is a portrait, has, as just observed, "been treasured," but certainly not for its beauty or its artistic worth, for it is not beautiful, and it has about as much art quality as an old-time tavern sign. But it is rare, possibly unique, and is of undoubted historic interest.

It is a portrait, apparently contemporaneous, of the Mohawk chief Hendrick, who on his appearance in England was acclaimed "King" Hendrick; and although the American Indians had no kings, the appelation has stuck, so that one may read today in sundry histories, of the deeds and fame of this King Hendrick. The portrait is painted on glass, showing the old chief in a British cocked hat, a blue coat with gold braid and much white lace, holding—delightful incongruity—a tomahawk in a hand which emerges from lace ruffles. When received from Mr. Brownell, thirty years ago, the glass was cracked and much of the paint of the coat had disappeared, but the backing of the glass in its modern frame supplies an adequate color-tone, and the whole is in as good condition today as when it came into the possession of the Society.

Underneath the picture, in lettering of a bygone cen-

OLD KING HENDRICK.

FROM AN ANCIENT PAINTING ON GLASS.

tury, is this inscription: "The brave old Hendrick, the great Sachem or Chief of the Mohawk Indians, one of the Six Nations in Alliance with, and subject to the King of Great Britain."

The British were very particular about the "subject to" clause. In those days the French were so inconsiderate as to put forward claims that the Six Nations were their subjects.

According to the documents submitted by Mr. Brownell in presenting the portrait, it "was painted on glass in 1740 by an artist in London, upon the order of his Majesty, George II." If it is the work of an "artist," he was taking a day off when this picture happened.

But we leave the art quality to speak for itself. As an historical relic it has undeniable interest and value. If, as alleged, King Hendrick was in London in 1740, it was a second visit, for he was one of five Iroquois taken to London in 1710 by Peter Schuyler. Their portraits were published at that time, and today, being exceedingly rare, are greatly prized by collectors.

It was on April 25, 1710, that Hendrick and two other Indians, with Abraham Schuyler, their interpreter, were presented to the Lords of the Board of Trade. The Englishmen had never seen anything like them. An old chronicle says: "The arrival of the Five Sachems in England made great bruit throughout the Kingdom, the mob followed wherever they went and small cuts of them were sold to the people."

Those were the days of good Queen Anne. After the Indians had recovered from the long voyage, which gave them a vast deal of discomfort, it was planned to have them presented at Court. The main ideas of the visit to England were, to impress the Indians with the greatness of Great Britain, to make more firm the alliance between the English and the Five Nations; and, most important of all, to show to France that the Iroquois ack-

nowledged the sovereignty over them of Great Britain.

The late W. Max Reid of Amsterdam, N. Y., who made a careful study of King Hendrick, wrote of this episode as follows:

"We can imagine the appearance of those five stalwart Iroquois on their first arrival in the crowded streets of London, led by Hendrick. Tall and commanding, with his princely form clad in the barbaric costume of the Mohawk, with a countenance that would not have dishonored royalty, he was a very striking figure. The garments of all the Sachems were of the finest finished buckskin, profusely decorated with wampum, their raven hair adorned with bands of silver and eagles' feathers, while each chief was enveloped with a bright-colored and gaily decorated blanket, gracefully draped around their majestic forms. Even the lines of vermillion and black, with which their faces were seamed, did not detract the least from their noble countenances or the stoic, independent demeanor of those typical Amerinds.

"At this time Queen Anne's court was in mourning for Prince George of Denmark, a brother of the King of Denmark and brother of Queen Anne. Thinking it more seemly and at the same time having an eye to the picturesque, she resolved that the Sachems, as guests of the Queen, be also clothed in mourning; and they were, therefore, turned over to the 'dressers of the playhouse,' who were advised by the Queen to make a show of them. Whereupon they were dressed in black underclothes made after the British pattern, with scarlet ingrain cloth mantles edged with gold thrown over the black garments in place of a blanket.

"Imagine Hendrick and his companions in short breeches and fine silk stockings, shoes with ornamental buckles, long coat and waistcoat, frilled shirt and cocked hat. It is said that more than ordinary solemnity attended the audience they had with her Majesty.

Sir James Cotterell conducted them in two coaches to St. James', and the Lord Chamberlain introduced them into the royal presence."[1]

There was much speech-making, vastly edifying no doubt. Hendrick's speech was as loyal as could be wished, but we have to take the interpreter's word for that. In after years we find Hendrick bitterly resenting the encroachments of the English. It was of King Hendrick that the famous "dream" story was told. The Mohawk visited William Johnson (before the latter was knighted), and was cordially received.

"I dream," said the Indian, addressing his friend.

Johnson, who must have known the Indian custom, could only say, "What did you dream?"

"I dream you give me suit of clothes"—or, as sometimes related, "that you give me red coat."

"Well," said Johnson, "I suppose you must have it," and the Indian was fitted out.

A few mornings later Johnson and Hendrick met in the woods; whereupon the Irishman, with a bland smile, said to Hendrick:

"I dreamed last night."

"What you dream?"

"I dreamed you gave me such and such a tract of land," describing it with word and gesture.

"Well," said Hendrick at length, "I suppose you must have it, but"—raising and shaking his finger significantly —"don't you dream again!"

This story has had currency for many years, and may have some foundation in fact, but it is well known that most of Sir William's large holdings in the Mohawk valley were otherwise acquired. The petition of Sir William and 39 other persons for a license to purchase the Indian title to 40,000 acres, lying between the two

1. Address before the Herkimer Co. Historical Society, April 12, 1902.

Canada creeks, was not presented to the Governor and Council until July, 1761. Six years before that time Hendrick was killed at the battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755—the battle which won the baronetcy for Sir William. A fine statue of him is to be seen on the battlefield today.

King Hendrick was related to Sir William Johnson through the latter's alliances with the Indians, and also with Joseph Brant. He is a very real and influential figure in the Colonial history of New York, and probably did not look nearly so impossible as he is made to by our queer old portrait of him.

THE JOHN JOHNSTONS

Two small oil paintings, in the Indian room of the Historical Building, not infrequently prompt the visitor to ask, "Who are they?" and "Why are they here?"

The name-plate on one frame announces "John Johnston"; on the other, "Mrs. John Johnston." John appears as a cheerful, somewhat florid gentleman in a blue coat. Mrs. John is unmistakably of Indian blood, middle-aged and matronly. The portraits, though small, are well painted; but there is a seeming incongruity about the pair which may well call for a word of explanation.

The portraits were presented to the Buffalo Historical Society in 1894, by the Rev. Archdeacon William McMurray, D.D., D. C. L., of Niagara, Ontario, now deceased. In presenting them Archdeacon McMurray wrote as follows:

The late John Johnston was connected with some of the first families in Ireland. In 1792 he came to Quebec with letters of introduction to Sir George Prevost, the then Governor General of Canada. Having become acquainted with some of the members of the great and powerful company, the Northwest Fur Traders, and hearing of their success, he resolved to go to the Northwest and to embark in the fur trade also. He first went to La Pointe, in Lake Superior, with a supply of goods requisite for the Indian trade, and having succeeded to a certain extent, he desired to increase his business, and returned to Ireland and sold his estate of Craig, near Colrain, and embarked more largely in his trade with the Indians, but before leaving he had fallen in love with the eldest daughter of Waba-jick, the head chief of all that large country from Sault Ste. Marie to the Falls of St. Anthony, and asked the chief for his daughter. The chief very properly refused his consent, and told him he would consider his proposition and gave him a reply

on his return from Ireland. The marriage was consummated on his return, and Mr. Johnston removed his business to Sault Ste. Marie.

He was appointed by the English Government as one of the commissioners to settle the fierce disputes between the late fur companies, The Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Company, the settlement of which took place at Fort Garry, near Winnipeg, about the year 1819 or '20.

The place, in those days, could only be reached by canoes, which occupied many months of fatigue and exposure.

Mr. Johnston died at Sault Ste. Marie in 1828, leaving four sons and four daughters to mourn their loss.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the great Indian historian, whose magnificent work on the Indians, published by Congress in six large quarto volumes, at great cost, which you may possibly have in your library, married Mr. Johnston's eldest daughter, Jane, a woman distinguished for her ability and elegance of manner. I married Charlotte, the third daughter, and James L. Schoolcraft married Maria, the youngest. Eliza, the second daughter, never married. The late Mr. George P. Dorr married Mary, one of the daughters of James L. Schoolcraft, who is still living in your city, and the late Mr. William K. Allen married Evelyn, the youngest daughter, both of whom are deceased.

This gives you but a very brief and meagre account of the family, which was one of the first in Michigan, and highly respected.

I will add a few further incidents with regard to the Indian chief whose daughter he married, as well as respecting Mr. Johnston himself.

The head chief of all that great western country from Sault Ste. Marie to the Falls of St. Anthony, was Wa-ba-jick; the white fisher, a fur-bearing animal, was his totem. A man of power and authority, his word was law. He took many of his braves with him by the Hudson Bay route to Montreal and Quebec, and was present and took part in the great battle on Abraham's Plains, where Wolfe was killed.

The whole distance was accomplished in canoes, a great undertaking in those days, and would even be so now. Mr. Johnston held a commission as magistrate of the peace, appointed for all that western country by the Governor General of Canada, at that time, Sir George Prevost, and which he held until the

JOHN JOHNSTON AND HIS INDIAN WIFE.

country where he resided was, by the treaty of Ghent, made over to the United States.

In the War of 1812, he, at the urgent request of the late Colonel McDowell, who commanded the British forces at Mackinac, took six men in boats from Sault Ste. Marie to Mackinac and was present and assisted at the taking of Mackinac, where General Holmes was killed.

After the surrender of all that western country to the United States, Mr. Johnston quietly passed his days, with most liberal hospitality, at Sault Ste. Marie, respected by all who knew him.

His portrait was painted in Belfast, Ireland, on his last visit, by a well-known artist; and that of Mrs. Johnston, by Catlin, a celebrated artist of the United States famed for his Indian portraits. A copy of this portrait is now in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington.

WM. McMURRAY.

Archdeacon McMurray's letter was written twenty-eight years ago, in which period many of the older citizens of Buffalo, who knew this interesting family, have passed away. It is with a view of informing a younger generation in regard to the matter, and of making plain why these quaint old pictures are on our walls, that the following notes are submitted.

The story begins with two widely different lines of ancestry, one Indian, one Scotch, and both of good quality. The union of alien races does not always produce fine stock, but now and then there are cases—as in this conspicuous instance—where, from the marriage of white and Indian, there results a line of descendants of fine quality, physical, mental and moral. In the days of the old French War an Ojibway chief from the Lake Superior region came with his braves to the Niagara, and joined the forces of Prideaux and Sir William Johnson. This Ojibway (or Chippewa) chief was known as Mamongazida. After the capture of Fort Niagara, in July, 1759, Sir William gave him a belt of purple wampum with white figures woven in it, and a silver gorget. The old chief is said to have served with the English on the

Heights of Abraham in the battle which decided the fate of Canada. In after years he visited Sir William, at his home on the Mohawk, and probably was more than once on the Niagara, in his journeys to and from his Lake Superior home.

At his death his son Wabojeeg—or as the Archdeacon writes it, Wa-ba-jick—succeeded to the chieftainship. When, in 1791, John Johnston, a debonnair young Scotchman (for he was of Scotch family, though living in Ireland), a trader, aged 29, arrived at the Sault, Wa-ba-jick was the most influential man in the region, and his daughter the most beautiful girl. She bore the rather formidable Ojibway name, O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua, meaning "the daughter of the green mountain." Her portrait in the Historical Building, painted in later life, does not suggest a beauty; but there is abundant testimony that as a young woman she was exceedingly attractive.

It was while on a hunting and trapping expedition, at Red Cliff Point, southwest of the Twelve Apostles islands, that John Johnston first saw this daughter of Wa-ba-jick (to continue Archdeacon McMurray's spelling). The family papers, which are uncommonly well preserved, afford intimate details of the romance. When young Johnson sought her hand of her father, the old chief said, with much dignity:

"White man, your customs are not our customs. You white men desire our women, you marry them, and when they cease to please your eye you say they are not your wives, and you forsake them.

"Return, young friend, with your load of skins, to Montreal, and if there the women of the pale-faces do not put my child out of your mind, return hither in the Spring and we will talk further. She is young, and can wait."

Johnston evidently stood the test, for he was back in

the Lake Superior country the following Spring. The chief, after making him swear that he would take her as his wife according to white man's law, "till death," gave him his daughter, with a long speech of advice to both.

In after years Mrs. Johnston related that, previous to her marriage, she fasted for a guardian spirit, according to Indian custom. "To perform this ceremony she went away to the summit of an eminence and built herself a little lodge of cedar boughs, painted herself black, and began her fast in solitude. She dreamed continually of a white man, who approached her with a cup in his hand, saying, 'Poor thing! Why are you punishing yourself? Why do you fast? Here is food for you.....Also she dreamed of being on a high hill, which was surrounded by water, and from which she beheld many canoes full of Indians coming to her and paying her homage; after this she felt as if she were carried up into the heavens, and as she looked down upon the earth she perceived it was on fire, and said to herself, 'All my relations will be burned!' but a voice answered and said: 'No, they will not be destroyed, they will be saved,' and she knew it was a spirit, because the voice was not human. She fasted for ten days, during which time her grandmother brought her at intervals some water. When satisfied that she had obtained a guardian spirit in the white stranger who haunted her dreams she returned to her father's lodge."[1]

Notwithstanding that her future husband was so clearly indicated in her dream, she seems to have cherished, through all the negotiations for her hand, only fear and aversion. It was not a courtship of caresses and endearments. "On being carried, with the usual ceremonies, to her husband's lodge, she fled into a dark corner, rolled herself up in her blanket, and would not

1. From "The historic Johnston family of the 'Soo,' by C. H. Chapman, in Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Colls., Vol. 32.

be comforted nor even looked upon. It is to the honor of Johnston that he took no cruel advantage of their mutual position, and that she remained in his lodge ten days, during which he treated her with utmost tenderness and respect, and sought by every gentle means to overcome her fear and gain her affection. . . . . On the tenth day, however, she ran away from him in a paroxysm of terror, and after fasting in the woods for four days, reached her grandfather's wigwam.

"Meantime her father, Wa-ba-jick, who was far off in his hunting camp, dreamed that his daughter had not conducted herself according to his advice, with proper wife-like docility, and he returned in haste, two days' journey to see after her; and finding all things according to his dream, he gave her a good beating with a stick, and threatened to cut off both her ears. He then took her back to her husband, with a propitiatory present of furs and Indian corn, and many apologies. . . . . Johnston succeeded at length in taming this wild fawn, and took her to his house at Sault Ste. Marie.

"When she had been there some time she was seized with a longing once more to behold her mother's face, and revisit her people. Her husband had lately purchased a small schooner to trade upon the lake; this he fitted out, and sent her, with a retinue of his clerks and retainers, and in such state as became the wife of a great Englishman, to her home at La Pointe, loaded with magnificent presents for all her family. . . . . A few months' residence amid comparative splendor and luxury, with a man who treated her with respect and tenderness, enabled the fair O-shaw-gus-co-day-way-qua to contrast her former with her present home. She soon returned to her husband, and we do not hear of any more languishing after her father's wigwam."[2]

She lived happily with John Johnston for thirty-six

2. Ib.

years, until his death in 1828. She shared with him in the history of the region; and she bore him eight or more children. Our especial interest now passes to a grandchild.

As stated in Archdeacon McMurray's letter, one of Mrs. Johnston's daughters, Jane, married Henry R. Schoolcraft, most distinguished of American ethnologists. His brother James married a younger sister, Maria; and two of their daughters became residents of Buffalo through their marriages. Mary Schoolcraft became Mrs. George P. Dorr, and her younger sister became Mrs. William K. Allen. Mr. Allen was a son of Orlando Allen, one of the most prominent of Buffalo's early citizens, one of the founders of the Historical Society, and its president in 1873.[3] His son William was president of this society in 1889, and portraits of father and son hang in the Board Room of the Historical Building. William K. Allen was for many years in the banking business. Both he and Mrs. Allen were members of St. Paul's Episcopal church, were active in charitable and philanthropic work, and exceedingly popular in society; and no doubt there are many still living in Buffalo who can recall, as does the writer, the uncommonly attractive personality of Mrs. Allen, who appeared to have inherited some of her fine qualities from her efficient and distinguished Ojibway grandmother.

3. An admirable memoir of him, by William C. Bryant, is contained in Vol. 1, Publications of this Society.

THE BUFFALO THEATER CUP

The Buffalo Theater was opened Monday evening, June 22, 1835. To quote from the *Commercial Advertiser* of the next day: "Although not completely finished, the arrangements and decorations of the building were highly creditable to the taste and enterprise of its spirited proprietor. A crowded audience tested satisfactorily the strength and capacity of the house, and evinced much gratification with the entertainment afforded them. The address, written by Jesse Walker, Esq., of this city, to whom was awarded the Silver Prize Cup, value $50, by the committee selected for the purpose—was spoken by Mrs. Greene, with spirit and effect."

A very prim and pretty sample of old-time reporters' English. The silver cup referred to is now in the museum of the Buffalo Historical Society, having been presented by Mr. George Alfred Stringer, whose wife, now deceased, was a daughter of Judge Walker, to whom the cup was awarded as a prize.

The committee which was charged with making the award, consisted of Messrs. Elijah J. Roberts, an attorney, and editor of the Buffalo *Journal;* Henry R. Stagg, a doctor; George P. Barker, the District Attorney; T. B. Stoddard, attorney; Mason Brayman, at that time a law student, later editor of various periodicals and still later a brigadier-general of the Civil War; Guy H. Salisbury, editor (at this time) of the *Commercial;* Edward H. Thompson, attorney; and Hamlet Scrantom, cashier of the Commercial Bank—surely a distinguished jury. They met at the old Mansion House, examined all the poems submitted, and voted the prize to Mr. Walker.

Jesse Walker at that time was a young Vermonter, graduated from Middlebury College in 1833, who had come to Buffalo to practice law. As sometimes happens to young lawyers, he had leisure, and in his early years devoted some of it to literature—as we have seen, in this instance, with credit to himself and a substantial return. He got on in his profession and became Judge of Erie County. His death occurred September 6, 1852.

Duffy's Buffalo Theater was located at Washington and South Division streets. In those days the theatrical season in Buffalo was the summer, when lake and canal traffic brought in strangers, and things were lively. On the occasion at which our silver cup was presented, Mr. Duffy had gathered a stock company which he advertised as made up "of the best materials," to which an announcement added: "He has secured a succession of Novelty in the engagement of all the principal Stars now in the United States." Nor was that mere boasting. Buffalo in those pre-railroad days had the best there was, in the dramatic line. It is reassuring to note further in the announcement of this opening of the Buffalo Theater: "An efficient Police has been engaged to ensure decorum." The statement suggests that there had been found a need of such surveillance.

After young Mr. Walker's poem had been recited, Knowles' play of "The Wife—a Tale of Mantua," was acted, the star parts being taken by Mr. and Mrs. Tiernan, the latter best known as Fanny Jarman. The orchestra performed the overture to "Tancredi"; and the entertainment closed with a farce, "Perfection, or the Maid of Munster," the Tiernans again assuming the principal roles, and the popular Fanny adding to her popularity by singing the ballads "Zurich's Waters" and "Kate Kearney." The performance began at 8 o'clock, and smoking was prohibited. "Mrs. Tiernan," said the *Commercial,* a week later, on the occasion of a "benefit"

for the lady, "is an actress of very superior talents, and excels in the personation of those characters which awaken the finest and most powerful emotions." What a treat it would be if we could turn the pages back, these eighty odd years, see the old house and its audience and see and hear this lady of delight! How do fail one's efforts to visualize the vanished scene!

The prize-winning poem on this occasion was as follows:

Hail to thee, City! the home of the free!
    Come thou, the child of the Drama to greet,
Hail to thy children as well as to thee!—
    The child of the Drama, they joyous shall meet.

Ye, who have listened to the son of song,
    While oft with angel touch he swept the lyre;
Ye, who of music would the notes prolong,
    Or feel the flame that Genius may inspire.

Ye, who would praise the arts divine, that make
The lifeless marble into being wake,
And to the canvas rude, the hues impart,
That bid to life the form of beauty start—
Let nobler sentiments your minds engage—
Salute ye now the Genius of the Stage!

The Drama comes, we trust, a welcome guest,
And owns your home the Mistress of the West.
Alive to finer feelings of the soul,
Let Genius now your willing hearts control.
And here may Virtue's purest spirit breathe
On him whose brow the laurels love to wreathe.
Let Sympathy, with sweet amusement flow,
To cheer, with blissful hopes, the heirs of woe.
Let Charity, the child of heaven, descend—
In him she'll find a brother and a friend.
The orphan's grief he soothes with accents mild,
While yet he owns himself a joyless child.
O'er all the world is Genius doomed to roam—
With thee, fair City, may he find a home.
He chose thee, from the little and the great,

The fairest daughter of the Empire State.
Though here no gods of Love or Hymen dwell,
Of which the bard's impassioned verse may tell,
Yet here, a lofty Spirit hath appeared,
Whose mighty genius bright improvements reared,
And bade a sterner love its fires awake,
When Neptune wooed the "Lady of the Lake."

Full many a generous heart, hath cradled Erie's wave;
Full many an honored tomb, hath given to the brave!

No higher praise is due to England's fame—
No brighter honors crown her Nelson's name,
Than were bestowed upon our country's powers,
When Perry met the foe and made them "ours"!
May thus a poet rise, of envied name,
And emulate the Bard of Avon's fame.
Then may he sing the glories of the mighty slain!
Of those who lie entombed on Chipp'wa's battlefield;
And those who, fighting, died, while notes of thunder pealed
Their funeral dirge at Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane!

Know ye, of old the morning stars together sung?
Heard ye the wildly rapturous music of the spheres?
Then listen to the notes that swell through endless years,
Like gravest sounds harmonious lisped from angel's tongue!
Thy voice, O great Niagara, hath such music made:
Thy solemn tones remain unaltered yet by time;
Then roll thou on, in might and majesty sublime—
For nature loves thy everlasting serenade!

These are the themes to swell the poet's song—
These to the Drama and the Muse belong.
When they shall bid the slumbering mind awake,
Then, every valley, mountain, wood and lake,
Arrayed in foliage dark, or living green,
Shall start to life, and animate the scene.
Then Nature, with her splendid panorama,
Will lend her thousand charms to grace the Drama!

Not even the kindest of critics could claim great excellence for this production. Indeed, one is moved to wonder, if this received the unanimous approval of the judges, what the others could have been! It appears somewhat barren in the sort of lines that would bring spontaneous applause from an eager theater audience; and one is moved to sympathy for the devoted Mrs. Greene, declaiming "with spirit and effect," these lines of elusive fancy to a restless crowd that required the presence of police to ensure decorum. The still youthful Walker was beyond question gifted with a poetic mind, and it is not strange that his production, following the fashion of the time, took on a form of imagery that reflected his recent studies of the classics at old Middlebury College. Such a youth was a needed acquisition in such a community as the Buffalo of 1835 appears to have been. It was a community by no means without culture—as this very incident of the theatre dedication proves; and it obviously respected, even if it did not always comprehend, the poetic and spiritual aspect of life which meant so much to men like Jesse Walker. He was greatly respected and very successful in his profession. For many years he was Master in Chancery. In 1851 he was elected County Judge, but died, untimely, the following year. At a memorial meeting of the Erie County Bar the Hon. James O. Putnam, Mr. Asher P. Nichols and other leaders in their profession, paid high tribute to the fine qualities of Judge Walker. "Justice," said the resolutions which the Bar Association adopted, "has lost from out her Temple a pure and upright minister, the County of Erie an able and valued Judge, and ourselves a most worthy and deserving brother." Some two years after Judge Walker's death, a little volume of his poems was published by Phinney & Co., of Buffalo, inscribed "to the blessed memory of Bela D. Coe, the early and tried friend of the author."

All of which reminiscence is prompted by this bit of old silver in a showcase. Buffalo no longer dedicates its new theatres with prize poems. If it did, what would the poems be like, A. D. 1922?

THE HARD CIDER CUP

A pewter cup (which looks like silver but is not), shaped like a barrel, of about one pint capacity, has been exhibited for many years in the Historical Society museum. It is a souvenir of the Whig campaign of 1840—the days of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." It bears a presentation inscription, and, on the opposite side, an engraved sketch of a log cabin.

On June 30th of the year named, Mr. Charles D. Ferris, a popular and able young man of Buffalo, found an interesting letter in his mail. At the top of the sheet was a portrait of General Harrison, and a picture of a log cabin with soldiers in front of it, refreshing themselves from a barrel labeled "hard cider." The letter ran:

BUFFALO LOG CABIN, June 29, 1840

Sir: I have been directed by the committee appointed "to award a hard cider cup to the author of the best Harrison song" to inform you that the verses commencing "Hurrah for the Hero," have taken the rag off the bush. Your name under the motto "*Detur dignissimis*" brings us to the conclusion that Chas. D. Ferris will never go dry for want of a cup to drink from.

You will please direct your answer to Doc. Stagg (chairman of the committee) and at the same time designate a day that will suit you for the ceremony of presentation.

Yours, etc.,

A. M. GROSVENOR

CHAS. D. FERRIS, ESQ.,
Buffalo.

The Whigs were strong in Buffalo, and early in the campaign of 1840 they built a party rallying-place, a log cabin, at the northeast corner of Main and Eagle

streets. A picture of it is to be found in "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," published by the Buffalo Historical Society. The log cabin, with its coonskin nailed on the wall, and its barrel of cider by the door, were the accepted symbols around which rallied the admirers of "Old Tippecanoe," as General William Henry Harrison was styled, in allusion to his famous victory on the Tippecanoe river, now the village of Battle Ground, Ind., Nov 7, 1811.

A local incident of this "hard-cider campaign" was the awarding of the cup as a prize for the best campaign song in praise of "Old Tip."

On Saturday evening, July 25, 1840, there was a great throng at the log cabin. James Durick, vice president of the Buffalo Harrison & Tyler "Association," presided, and Dr. H. R. Stagg made the presentation speech. Holding up the shining cup so that all could see it, he proclaimed that although many competitors had sent in fine songs, the committee had unanimously awarded this prize to Mr. Charles D. Ferris—whereupon, we may be sure, there was great cheering, for Mr. Ferris was popular.

"Now, sir," said Dr. Stagg, addressing that blushing young man, "Now, sir; accept the gift from your fellow citizens who with heart and hand are devotedly engaged in the glorious cause of 'Harrison and Reform,'—who, to use the language of a distinguished statesman, 'stand where the Republicans of 1798 stood, and where the Whigs of the Revolution were—battling for liberty—for the People—for free institutions—against power—against corruption—against executive encroachments—against Monarchy! Whose object is the restoration of the Constitution—the preservation of liberty—the rescue of the country.'"

From which it will be remarked that the well-known business of saving the country was ably attended to,

away back in 1840. When the cheering abated Mr. Ferris replied in a long speech—so long and so elaborate, phrased with such skill, that it is plain he had been tipped off in advance, and prepared this "extempore" reply with care beforehand. After thanking the last speaker, and paying proper tribute to the hero of Tippecanoe, Fort Meigs and the Thames, he turned to Buffalo, its tragic past and his own pleasant relationships here. A few paragraphs from this word-picture may well be given in this connection:

"Your happy allusions to my long residence in this city have called up a tide of recollections connected with its history and my own. Buffalo, though not my birthplace, was my cradle. Hardly were the embers of its destruction cold when it became my home, and with the affections of a child for parent have I watched its growth, from the weakness of infancy to its present pride and strength and beauty.

"Phoenix-like have I seen it arise from its ashes, spread the wings of its commerce over the Great Lakes, and touch with outstretched plumage the remote North, the distant East and the far West. I saw it when the few huts it contained hardly deserved the name of village, and I behold it now with emotions of pride and pleasure, the Queen City of the Lakes, justly celebrated for the beauty of its position, the salubrity of its climate, the extent of its resources, the enterprise of its inhabitants, the integrity and intelligence of its citizens, and the loveliness of its ladies.

"You, sir, have been long an esteemed and respected resident of Buffalo, attached to its interests, zealous for its welfare—and allow me to say that the pleasure of receiving from your hands this beautiful goblet, is second only to the satisfaction I feel in being the successful candidate for a literary prize, contended for by so many talented competitors.

"I see upon it the emblem of a movement, pioneered in the Empire State, by the patriotic people of Buffalo, that is destined to reward the valiant services of a gallant general, and give to this afflicted nation a chief magistrate worthy to succeed the Father of his Country, and preside over a free people."

The crowd then sung the song which had won the cup, the original manuscript of which is still preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society; after which, we are assured, there were several "animated, spirit-stirring speeches"; and if that "beautiful goblet" did not get well christened, it was because the cider gave out early in the evening.

Preserved in the library of the Historical Society is the visitors' register, kept at the log cabin during the campaign of 1840, in which are inscribed 10,360 names. At the head of the page for July 25th is written: "The hard cider cup will be presented this evening at 8 o'clock." Other souvenirs of this incident, at the Historical Building, are Mr. Ferris' original manuscript of his song; a copy of the song as published in Buffalo in 1840, the title-page bearing a picture of the log cabin, with the name of the author, to which is added: "Music by T. L. Nichols"—the redoubtable Tom Nichols who certain citizens, not long before, had sought to tar and feather, and who had served four months in the Erie County jail for libel, writing a saucy, sentimental "Journal in Jail," meanwhile.

The Tippecanoe song, "Hurrah for the Hero," was in two parts, the first, consisting of eight stanzas, being marked "Biographical," and five others "Political." Here are the opening stanza and chorus:

> Hurrah for the Hero! who fought, when a boy,
> In Freedom's defense for the rights we enjoy;
> And assisted our blest independence to gain,
> Which his valor and wisdom have helped to maintain.

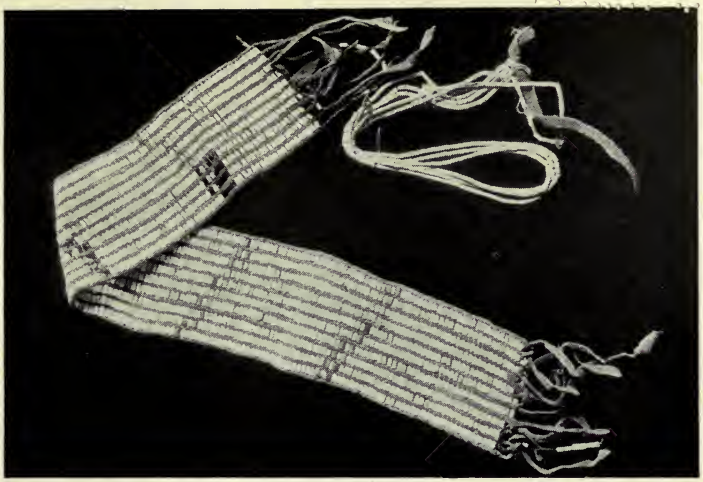
CHORUS:

Let your shouts echo still
From plain, mountain and hill,
And your swelling huzzas
Fill the vales with applause;
Hurrah for the Hero, who fought in two wars!
Hurrah for the Hero, Hurrah!

It's a hurrah boys affair throughout, not sufficiently edifying to justify further quotation; but one may readily believe that it had the singing quality—mostly hurrahs and other noise—called for by the occasion.

One further word should be added concerning the cup itself. It had been announced, at the opening of the competition, that it would be a silver cup "worth $25." It is probable that the baser metal was substituted as an incident of campaign economy. The winner of the prize could not, of course, have been foretold; but when it was known that Mr. Ferris had won it, we can believe that there was no lack of joking in the town, for he was not a Whig nor a Harrison man, but of the opposite political party. It is by no means a unique instance in Buffalo journalistic history. More than one editorial writer has ardently and faithfully advocated the election of a candidate, because business relations made it incumbent (or at least expedient) to do so, only to cast his own vote for an opposing candidate. The history of the Cleveland campaign (to cite a comparatively modern instance) would afford some striking cases of this kind. In Charles Ferris' case, the joke was perhaps on one party as much as the other. The Whigs got the song they wanted, written by a man who voted against the "hero" whose praises he sung; and he got the satisfaction of winning—and a pewter cup.

Charles Drake Ferris was a youth of such ability and interesting lineage, that a biographical note in this connection will not be amiss. He was born at Pittsfield,



HISTORIC WAMPUM.—See p. 208.

HARD CIDER CUP AND SUBSCRIPTION BOOK, BUFFALO'S FIRST SCHOOL.—See pp. 182 and 227.

Otsego Co., N. Y., December 5, 1812, and was a lineal descendant of John Alden. When he was a year or so old his father Angus Ferriss (so the name appears in family records) removed to Erie, Pa., where he was engaged in furnishing supplies to the American forces when he died, September 10, 1813—the day of Perry's great victory over the English on Lake Erie. Mrs. Ferriss (whose maiden name was Sarah Grey) came to Buffalo soon after her husband's death, with her two children, Warren Angus, born 1810, and Charles Drake; and here, on August 13, 1815, she married Joshua Lovejoy, whose wife had been killed by the Indians at the burning of Buffalo, in her house on the site now covered by the William Hengerer company's store on Main street. By this marriage Charles and Warren Ferris (as the name came to be written) became stepbrothers of Henry Lovejoy, who was a lad of 14 when his mother was killed; who shouldered a musket and fought like a man in defense of Buffalo; and who in later life, became a surveyor, laid out streets and ran lot lines by the hundred in the older parts of Buffalo. Many a title-deed today is based on Henry Lovejoy's surveys.[1]

Warren A. Ferris passed his early youth in Buffalo, from 1815 to 1830. He became a civil engineer, though that term did not then imply the technical training that now attaches to it. A love of adventure led him to engage, about 1830, as trapper for the American Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was the head. For five or six years he wandered in Western regions unexplored, and appears to have been the first white man to enter the Yellowstone region and to write of its wonders. A very interesting and valuable series of articles from his pen, detailing his experiences in the West, afterwards appeared in the *Western Literary Messenger,*

1. Maria Louisa Lovejoy, a daughter of Joshua and Sarah (Ferris) Lovejoy, became the first wife of Buffalo's distinguished artist, Mr. L. G. Sellstedt.

published in Buffalo, 1841-1857. His articles appeared during the years 1842 and '43, and are descriptive of his wanderings "on the sources of the Rivers Missouri, Columbia and Colorado, from February, 1830, to November, 1835." He followed the Clark and McKenzie trail to Oregon, and penetrated California long before the first gold discoveries. His journal, written with no little literary skill, and with a graphic quality which entitles it to rank with Irving's "Booneville," is worth bringing out in book form and having a place in all libraries concerned with preserving the records of the West. Here, in fact, is a Buffalo boy who became an American explorer of genuine achievement, whose work needs but be known to gain for his name and memory the recognition that is their due.

Returning from his Western wanderings, Warren A. Ferris settled in Texas, where, it is understood, he followed his profession for many years. He died at Dallas, Texas, February 8, 1873.

The younger brother, Charles, shared with his elder brother the ability to write, and a taste for adventure. It was he who changed the spelling of the family name, dropping the final "s," which is still retained in some branches of the family. As a Buffalo school-boy he knew the town in the earliest years of its recovery from the destruction of 1813. He was a lad of 13 when Lafayette visited Buffalo in 1825, on which occasion, as his mother used to relate, she attended the reception to the great general "attired in a white silk dress cut so narrow and gored so tight, as was the fashion of that day, that she could hardly step in it." Charles was married, at Clarence, N. Y., May 5, 1834, to Hester Ann Bivens, who after a continuous residence in Buffalo of 61 years, passed away August 11, 1895.

In the early '30's the Texan struggle for liberty aroused the enthusiasm of many high-spirited young Americans.

Charles Ferris went to Texas, and in 1836 was aide-de-camp to General Sam Houston, and shared that hero's fortunes at the battle of San Jacinto and elsewhere.[2]

Returning to Buffalo he was for some years employed in the postoffice. He was also connected with one or another of the local newspapers. Long before this campaign of 1840 he had gained a local reputation as a poet. Several of the early "Carrier's Addresses," in verse, were written by him. He shared in editing the *Buffalonian* (1837-'39), and was engaged in other journalistic and literary work. A Niagara guide-book of the '30's was written by him.

For a few weeks in 1840 he published the *Phalanx,* the first daily paper in America devoted to the advocacy of the social reform, and the reorganization of labor, which were originated and taught by Charles Fourier and Albert Brisbane, and which have been denominated as the doctrines of "Association." The cult evidently awakened slight response in the field reached by the *Phalanx,* for after six weeks or so it was discontinued.

In 1842 Mr. Ferris acquired a half interest in Buffalo's most famous literary periodical, the *Western Literary Messenger;* and it was during his connection with it that the publication of his brother Warren's journal of travels was begun. In 1843 Charles disposed of his interest in the *Messenger* to Jesse Clement. For a time in 1844 he was an editorial writer on the *Courier,* then under the management of Joseph Stringham.

Mr. Ferris was lost at sea, off Cape Breton, in 1850. His son, the late George Ferris, was for some years city editor of the *Express,* and for a much longer period was an editorial writer on the *Courier.* The family connection with Buffalo journalism does not end here, for

2. A relic of this war, in the Historical Society Museum, is a copper cross found by Mr. Ferris in the ruins of the church of St. Guadaloupe, San Filipe, and brought back by him to Buffalo.

a son-in-law, Mr. Arthur A. Austin, was practically a life-long worker on the *Commercial,* of which paper he was editor-in-chief at the time of his death in 1913.

These notes, which set out to tell only of an old pewter cup, have been led by one historic association after another to dwell on several members of one of Buffalo's oldest families. Thus indeed do many of the relics in this museum awaken memories of the town throughout the past century and more, and of many men and women who laid the foundations on which stands the Buffalo of today.

HISTORIC FIGURE-HEADS

I. A RELIC OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

In the North Hall of the Historical Building stands a huge figurehead of a vessel. Its shape, carving and coloring often lead people, at first glance, to mistake it for a mummy-case, and the exclamation, usually by children: "Oh, see the mummy!" has come to be very familiar to the secretary as he sits at his desk in the nearby office. One old lady, leading two little girls through the building, mistook it for a South Sea idol. "Only think, children," she said, "of saying your prayers to that." When she got her spectacles adjusted she read aloud the descriptive card which hangs on the misleading object:

"Figurehead of the Spanish Transport Alfonso XII, a steel vessel of 5000 tons, destroyed at the entrance of Mariel Harbor, Cuba, July 6, 1898, by two vessels of the United States Navy, the *Hawk* and the *Castine*. Her captain ran her ashore to avoid capture. The Spaniards on shore prevented the American forces from taking possession of her, and the Americans thereupon burned her.

"Presented to the Buffalo Historical Society by Colonel Stephen Y. Seyburn, 202d Regt., N. Y. Volunteers."

This interesting relic, as it now stands in the Historical Building, is some 10 feet high, and is flanked by two carved and decorated sideboards which originally extended back from the figurehead on either side of the cutwater. In the museum they are stood up, to economize space. At the top or outer end of the figurehead is a

grotesque face, scarcely more human than an old Greek mask; but the American soldiers, or some of them, took it for a portrait of the king of Spain. Below it, surmounted by a crown, are the Spanish arms. A bold design of carved scroll-work, runs freely from the figure-head over and along the sideboards, and embraces on each side of the bow an escutcheon bearing the emblems of Aragon and Castile. The grotesque face and the scroll design are in raised carving, gilded, against a black background. The quarterings on the escutcheons are in red, blue and white. When fresh and new this ornamental headpiece must have been a gaudy object as it dipped and rose above the waves.

It is a relic of the war with Spain in 1898. Its official history, so far as Buffalo is concerned, begins with the following letter which Mayor Conrad Diehl found in his mail one January morning in 1899:

Camp United States Troops Near Guanajay, Cuba,
January 13, 1899.

To the Honorable the Mayor of Buffalo, N. Y.:

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that I have this day shipped by the schooner *Robert A. Snyder*, commanded by Captain William Guthrie, the figurehead and name (iron letters) of the Spanish steamer Alfonso XII, sunk by the American naval forces at the entrance of the harbor of Mariel, Cuba, May 5, 1898. The work of removing these figures was attended by no small risk of life and limb, besides a good deal of labor, all performed by the soldiers of the 202d New York, under the nautical guidance of Mate William Heasley of the same vessel, and prompted by pure American enthusiasm and patriotism.

Captain Guthrie sails on Sunday for the port of Pascagoula, Miss. He carries on his vessel, free of charge, our trophy and lands it at the railroad station. From that point the cost of shipment will be guaranteed and borne by me personally, as it is the desire of the officers and men of the 202d New York that it be sent to your city and preserved, at least as a curio, in your Historical Society rooms for all time.

The *Robert A. Snyder* is the first American vessel to discharge

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FIGUREHEAD, THE ALPHONSO XII.

a cargo in the port of Mariel, so far as can be determined, and is worthy of note. I commend Captain Guthrie and his mate, Mr. Heasley, to your favorable notice, and to the consideration of all good Americans, for they truly possess and represent the right spirit. With great respect I remain, sir, yours sincerely,

STEPHEN Y. SEYBURN
Colonel commanding District of Guanajay.

A few days later three large packing cases were unloaded at a Buffalo freight house, put on a heavy truck and hauled to the City Hall. The first idea was, to place the relics on exhibition in the Mayor's office, but Mayor Diehl promptly vetoed that, because of their size. The boxes were accordingly opened on the sidewalk in front of the City Hall. The figurehead was no sooner exposed to view than a crowd gathered, many of the people seeming determined to carry off the relics piecemeal, as souvenirs. They began to splinter and hack, and Colonel Seyburn's interesting trophy would soon have disappeared had not the police been called upon to guard it. It was not deemed safe to leave it out of doors over night, so carts were procured and late in the day it was hauled to the Public Library building, and with no little labor got safely up to the third floor, where the Historical Society then had its abiding place. When in 1901 the society moved to its new home in the Park, this figurehead resumed its travels, to its present resting-place.

Some time after the arrival of the figurehead in Buffalo a Buffalo friend received the following letter from Benjamin Van Velsor, a Buffalo boy then in Co. F., 202d Regiment, stationed at Guanajay, Cuba:

CAMP BARRETT, GUANAJAY, CUBA,
February 6, 1899

Friend Bill: I see by last Sunday's *Express* that the letters and coat-of-arms from the Alfonso XII have arrived in Buffalo. Captain McAvoy and myself had the honor of taking them from the *Alphonso XII*. The thing happened this way:

We were at Mariel on detached duty when we came across

the wreck of the cruiser at the entrance of Mariel Bay. Lieut. Col. Ward called for volunteers to climb to the bow of the boat and remove the figurehead and the letters which formed the name of the boat. Captain McAvoy and I told him we would do it. Colonel Ward said it would be a hard and dangerous job, for we would have to work seventy-five feet from the ground, with little to hang on to, but I told him I had worked on some of the highest buildings in Chicago, so he was satisfied that the thing could be done.

The first mate and two deck hands from the *John Snyder*, a Government supply boat, took us out to where the wreck lay, and we went to work. It took us two days to loosen the iron work, and get it ashore, and it was dangerous business, too.

As you will remember, probably, the *Alphonso* was chased in here by the *Scorpion* and sunk last May. The *Alphonso* was hit three times in that fight. One shell went through her boilers and the other two struck her sidewise and did awful execution.

At Mariel Bay we found a hospital which the Spaniards had vacated in a hurry, for they had left cots, drugs and all the rest of the equipment of a well-furnished hospital. It was on this island that we found a woman and four small children, nearly dead from hunger. There was little left of them but skin and bones. We found that they had been living on dead fish which they had picked up on the beach. . . . . .

The reader will have noticed some discrepancies in the foregoing. It was not the *Scorpion,* but the *Hawk,* with the assistance of the *Castine,* which shelled the *Alfonso* (to employ the Spanish spelling). The date of her destruction was July 6, 1898.

II. THE CAROLINE

A relic which many visitors pass by with a glance, without realizing its significance, is the figurehead of the steamer *Caroline.* To those who know our border history it recalls a sensational episode.

It is a little thing, as ship figureheads go; only 19 inches high; but it is well carved and altogether a pleas-

FIGUREHEAD OF THE CAROLINE

ing head and bust, presumably of Queen Caroline, for the plump and dainty lady wears a coronet above her ringlets. It's true, her nose is battered, as was her prototype's reputation; but that is her only blemish. Her coiffure is still as nicely arranged, her smile as gracious, as when she first awoke under the graver's chisel, about a century ago. Considering her years and what she has been through—poor thing, she has been over Niagara Falls and through the whirlpool!—she may truly be said to be well preserved.

Although the story of the *Caroline* has been told many times, there is an amazing amount of discrepancy in the accounts relative to the boat itself. One may find in various books that she was built in New York, in a South Carolina port, at Ogdensburg, even at Kingston in Canada. Her tonnage is given all the way from 45 to 125 tons. One more or less trustworthy work[1] states on one page that she was built of live-oak, and on the next that she was built of Norway pine. Her whole story is as full of discrepancies as that of the royal lady whose name she bore.

A good many years ago Captain James Van Cleve, a veteran in lake traffic (his father had come into Western New York with Joseph Ellicott) devoted some years to the compilation of records of lake vessels, especially those of Lake Ontario. His big folio manuscript volume, with its water-color sketches, is one of the treasures of the Historical Society library. When he came to the *Caroline,* the lack of trustworthy data evidently perplexed him. He had heard that she was built by Cornelius Vanderbilt (the elder), and wrote to him, asking for the facts. Commodore Vanderbilt replied, under date of April 20, 1876:

"In reply to yours of 18th I have to say that I had the

1. "The History of the Great Lakes." Chicago: J. H. Beers & Co., 1899. 2v.

Caroline built somewhere between the years 1820 and 1825, at a cost of some $6,000; and sold her to a party of gentlemen in North Carolina, and she was used for a time on Albemarle Sound. For some cause I do not recollect she was returned here (New York) and then went to Lake Ontario by way of the Erie Canal."

The statement that she was "returned" to New York perhaps warrants the conclusion that she was built there. On the other hand, the use of live-oak for her hull is a point in favor of the statement that she was built at Charleston, S. C. Her engines were of the square, low-pressure type, and were built in New York. It was about 1834 when she was sent through the Erie Canal to Oswego; thence she was taken to Ogdensburg, and used as a ferry between Ogdensburg and Prescott. In the proceedings which followed her destruction in December, 1837, the sworn deposition of James W. Browne, deputy collector of the Port of Buffalo Creek, states that the *Caroline* was built at Ogdensburg in the year 1824; that the boat had one deck and no masts; that her length was 71 feet; breadth 20 feet 6 inches; that she measured 45 and 95-100ths tons; and that she "has no galleries, and a figure-head."

In view of Commodore Vanderbilt's clear statement one may conclude that she was not built, but perhaps rebuilt, at Ogdensburg.

Other witnesses in the same inquiry, swore that the *Caroline* "was built of live-oak," and "was rebuilt new from light water-mark some time last season," that is, 1837, this testimony being dated February 2, 1838. This last reconstruction was done either at Buffalo or Black Rock, whither she had been brought via the Welland Canal in 1835. For a season or two, she ran between Buffalo and Port Robinson on the Welland Canal, by way of Chippewa, her captain in this service being James Ballentine. Mr. S. M. Welch, in his book on early Buffalo,

says she was a smuggler. In 1837 her captain was Gilman Appleby and her owner William Wells, both men of repute in Buffalo. Mr. Wells' idea appears to have been to use the little steamboat in any service that would pay.

This brings us to the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837, otherwise known as the Patriot War. As this little chapter is not a history of that war, but simply a few notes, more or less historical, about an old figure-head, it will suffice to remind the reader that the "war" on the Niagara frontier consisted of certain lawless acts by the so-called Canadian "Patriots," who professed to be discontented under their government. The ringleader, William Lyon Mackenzie, may have dreamed of gathering a sufficient following to overthrow the government, but few, even of the malcontents, could have been so blind as to share such a view. The "Patriots" collected their forces on Navy Island. This was in December, 1837; but the winter being exceptionally mild, there was little ice in the river or harbors. Mr. Wells, with an eye to business, permitted Captain Appleby to run the *Caroline* from Buffalo to Schlosser's Dock, on the American side, and across to Navy Island, carrying passengers and supplies. How many trips she made has always been matter of dispute. It was charged, and denied, that she was in the service of the Canadian rebels.

The melodramatic hour came on the night of December 29th. Mackenzie himself was on Navy Island, and afterwards wrote of the affair as follows:

The steamboat *Caroline* took out a license at Buffalo as a ferry-boat for passengers—sailed to Tonawanda—thence to Schlosser, and twice between it and Navy Island. Schlosser contains an old store-house and a small inn. At five in the evening the *Caroline* was moored to the wharf—the tavern being very full, a number of the gentlemen took beds in the boat—in all about 33 persons slept there. A watch was placed on

deck at 8, the watchmen unarmed—there was only one pocket pistol on board, and no powder. At midnight the *Caroline* was attacked by five boats full of armed men from the English army at Chippewa, who killed (as they themselves say) six men, or as the American account has it, eleven. A number were severely wounded, as the people in the American port could make no resistance. To kill them was therefore a wanton assassination. The cry of the assailants was, "— — them, no quarter! fire, fire!" Amos Durfee of Buffalo was found dead upon the dock, a musket ball having passed through his head.

The *Caroline* sailed under the American flag, which the assailants took to Toronto, and displayed at annual festivals, in honor of this outrage. She was set in a blaze, cut adrift and sent over the falls of Niagara.

We witnessed the dreadful scene from Navy Island. The thrilling cry ran around that there were living souls on board; and as the vessel, wrapt in vivid flame, which disclosed her doom as it shone brightly on the water, was hurrying down the resistless rapids to the tremendous cataract, the thunder of which, more awfully distinct in the midnight stillness, horrified every mind with the presence (*sic*: prescience) of their inevitable fate. Numbers caught, in fancy, the wails of dying wretches, hopelessly perishing by the double horrors of a fate which nothing could avert; and watched with agonized attention the flaming mass till it was hurried over the falls to be crushed in everlasting darkness in the unfathomed tomb of waters below. Several Canadians who left the island in the *Caroline* that evening, to return next day, have not since been heard of, and doubtless were among the murdered, or hid on board and perished with the ill-fated vessel."[2]

Mackenzie was as far as possible from being an impartial observer; but there were many who, like him, held substantially to his story. How many were killed, burned or drowned, remained unsettled. There was no question about Durfee; his body was brought up to Buffalo and buried, "great excitement" still prevailing. But as time passed, as the firm hand of Government restored quiet in Canada, and as most of the missing were accounted for and no more bodies found, other versions

2. Mackenzie's "The Caroline Almanack," for 1840.

of the *Caroline* affair gained credence. The undisputed facts are, that the troops from Canada came across the river; there was a melee at Schlosser's dock in which one man was killed; the steamboat was cut out, towed into the river, set afire, and left to her fate. That fate appears to have been, that, with no one on board, she drifted down stream. "Down she went at a tolerably good speed for about 200 yards, when she became entangled in a bed of rush weeds, which brought her to a full stop for several minutes. Then she drifted loose, and away she went again, keeping well in to the eastern shore. But the flames had by this time pretty effectually destroyed her wood-work, and she had not been carried far down the river before her lights were quenched, and all suddenly became as dark as the grave. It is probable that the metal portion of her sank to the bottom, as her engine was to be seen there in shallow water for many years afterwards. Small portions of her charred woodwork were carried over the falls, and minute fragments were subsequently picked up even in the lower reaches of the river; but the prevalent notion that the steamer was carried bodily over the great cataract is altogether without foundation."[3]

There were others beside Mackenzie who helped spread this "prevalent notion," especially the picture-makers, several of whose imaginary drawings, show the blazing *Caroline* plunging over the crest of the Canadian fall—which she could not have reached. It is amusing to note that the Canadian history just quoted has one of these pictures stamped in gold on its red cover. The author's account of the fate of the steamboat is however corroborated by other credible testimony. Among the fragments which floated over the American fall, were her bowsprit and figure-head. The former was picked up in the river off Fort Niagara, and given by Colonel

3. Dent, "The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion," II, 209.

E. Jewett to his friend Molyneux, whose tavern on the Ridge Road, 12 miles east of Lewiston, was long a popular resort. Mr. Molyneux planted the bowsprit in front of his house, and there it did duty for many years as a hitching-post. Whether it, or any other relics of the *Caroline* are still in existence, the writer knows not;—except the figure-head, which was found in the lower Niagara, near Lewiston, many years ago (the meager record states "by Jack Jewett") and presented to the Buffalo Historical Society.

OTHER FIGUREHEADS

Other figureheads in our small collection include the fine, imposing portrait block of the steamboat *General Porter,* of 342 tons, built at Black Rock in 1834, in 1843 converted into the Canadian propeller *Toronto.* That this well-preserved relic is truly a portrait is readily seen by comparing the figurehead with an oil portrait of General Porter which hangs near it.

Another, small and battered, came from the steamer *Robert Fulton,* 368 tons, built at Cleveland in 1835, wrecked off Sturgeon Point in Lake Erie, in 1844.

Still another old figurehead, a grotesque face, is preserved here, but we have no history of it.

A ST. ANDREW'S NIGHT

There are not many social organizations now active in Buffalo which antedate St. Andrew's Society, organized here in 1840, and now apparently more flourishing than ever. Past eighty years and still young!

On the evening of November 30, 1843, this society celebrated its fourth anniversary with a banquet at the American Hotel—the earlier of Buffalo's two famous houses so named, both on the site of the present American block, generally known as Adam, Meldrum & Anderson's—a firm by the way, which, including employes, probably has more memberships in the St. Andrew's Society than any other in Buffalo.

The banquet, as just remarked, was held in the evening; but there is evidence that the mere evening was inadequate, and that the banqueters made a night of it. The evidence consists of an oil painting executed ("executed" is the right word) more than eighty years ago by T. H. Cone, an artist of early Buffalo. So far as we are aware, this painting is the only thing that keeps his fame from total eclipse; unless indeed another and quite excellent portrait, also in the possession of the Historical Society, is from his brush. This depicts Mr. James Smith, also of the St. Andrew's Society. He is shown about life size, in three-quarters length, wearing a Scotch cap and plaid, and what with good features and a winning smile, he appears a most comely gentleman. It was probably in this regalia—and with this smiling face—that he shared in the banquet in question.

The portrait is seriously done, with some skill; but the banquet picture, whatever the artist's intent, par-

takes of the character of a cartoon. Mr. Cone, who was undoubtedly a Scot, could not have painted the scene had he not been present. Being a Scot, he is not to be suspected of misrepresenting so momentous an occasion as the annual banquet of his fellow Scots in America on the anniversary of their patron saint. We must accept the evidence, and believe that his picture is a faithful showing of the scene in that once famous dining-room of the old American, on this momentous evening of 1843. The picture, reproduced herewith, is a canvas about two feet by three in size, and has been the property of the Historical Society for many years.

There are not many souvenirs of worth, of the social life of the earlier Buffalo; and this old painting, rich in red and brown tones, is prized accordingly. Our engraving affords but an inadequate idea of the original.

James Smith was also an artist, according to the *Commercial Advertiser's* report of the banquet, which mentions that behind the president's chair "was a magnificent painting of St. Andrew, Scotland's patron saint, executed by a worthy member of the Society, Mr. James Smith, which for design and execution reflects great honor upon his prolific genius as a painter."

Jovial the occasion no doubt became, but the Scots forgot neither the proprieties nor the formalities. President James Murray presided, "assisted by John Cameron, Esq., as Croupier"—not, as some of the younger generation may suppose, to superintend the distribution of gains and losses at some game of hazard, but to serve as assistant chairman. Nowadays we do not hear of croupiers at public dinners; formerly it was an established and familiar office.

The Rev. Dr. John C. Lord said grace. Then the seventy and more Scots and their guests sat down "to partake of the sumptuous repast" provided by mine host Hodge whose skill as a landlord made the old American

BANQUET, ST. ANDREW'S SOCIETY, BUFFALO, NOV. 30, 1843.

FROM THE PAINTING BY T. H. CONE, IN THE MUSEUM OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

famous. The Highland piper, duly fortified, fell to his dreadful work. When he paused, "Mr. Cornish's excellent band" played appropriate airs. Finally, all the courses having been served and the piper urgently requiring to wet his whistle, the cloth was removed, the whiskey punch brought on, and a list of toasts was proposed and responded to, the report of which makes a full column in the large page of the old *Commercial.* They were all that toasts should be—eloquent and wise, witty and gallant, and overflowing with love of Scotland and loyalty to America.

The president dwelt on the object of the society—benevolence and helpfulness to the needy. Mayor William Ketchum talked himself into believing that he was of Scotch descent. Mr. Milton, president of one of the St. Patrick's societies (it seems there were two of them in Buffalo in those days) whom the fraternal spirit of the Scots had invited as a guest, was so moved by the occasion that he cried: "If this is war, may there never be peace!" Everything and everybody at all toastable, was toasted. When the health of the Mayor's lady, "the Mayoress," was proposed, and had been drunk in all courtesy Mayor Ketchum responded with a Scotch sentiment:

> May gravels round his blather wrench,
> An' gout torment him inch by inch
> Wha twists his gruntle wi' a glunch,
> O' sour disdain
> Out ower a glass o' whiskey punch,
> Wi' honest men.

This so met the approval of the assemblage that they drank the health of the temperance societies, and voted not to prohibit the Cold Spring—which in those halcyon days was something more than a mere name in Buffalo.

EARLY DAYS OF THE TELEPHONE IN BUFFALO

AS RECALLED BY WILLIAM W. SAPERSTON

It is well worth while for the Historical Society to preserve in its museum, specimens of early telephone instruments, and to make record of the progress of the telephone in Buffalo.

As I was the first operator engaged to handle the switch board of the Bell Telephone Company, which was being organized in this city by Edward J. Hall, Jr., in the fall of 1878, I can recall the crudeness and uncertainty of this phenomenal achievement of Alexander Graham Bell.

The first switch-board in Buffalo was erected in the office of Hall & Sons' brick yard, 15 Clinton street, which was then the Arcade building, being the site of the present Brisbane building. It was a miniature one,—I should judge, about four feet by four and the only method of communication was by a hand 'phone which was used for speaking as well as hearing. The transmitter had not yet been invented. The experiment of the telephone was so highly satisfactory that larger quarters were engaged in the Williams block, corner Main and Eagle streets, so as to accommodate more operators.

The apparatus used for switching was quite unique. In order to detect a call, a small bell was installed over the switchboard connected with the subscribers' line and a small celluloid ball attached thereto would vibrate so as to call attention of the operator to the call. The method of connecting up the subscriber with the office

was by a plug and cord, attached to the switchboard. There were no operator's tables. Later on the Blake transmitter was perfected, thus relieving one from using the same 'phone.

The first transmitter was placed in St. James Hall, which is now replaced by the Iroquois Hotel building, and the operators had the privilege of inviting their friends to the telephone office to listen to the concerts and other attractions then being given. Among those I recall distinctly were Ole Bull, the then famous violinist; Levy, the cornetist; Salvini, the tragedian, etc.

That the telephone was a curiosity there can be no question. People would point out the operator in the street as if he were a curiosity. Charles W. Miller, liveryman on Pearl street, had the first telephone installed. James Ford, P. J. Hanauer and Tony Schmidt were among the next. Schmidt's Tivoli Hall on Washington street was very popular at that time and it was customary to connect up our subscribers with Schmidt's place to hear the orchestral music.

Cecil Mackenzie became my associate operator who continued on for forty-two years, until about a year ago, when he was pensioned. Later on the Indianapolis telephone table was installed and Misses Dick and Griswold were the first girl operators engaged to operate the tables. Mr. Mackenzie and I were the connecting links between the tables and the switch-board. When a call would register we would stand there with plugs in our hands ready to capture the call and connect the tables.

Shortly thereafter a rival telephone company was organized and called the Edison Telephone Company which was later absorbed by the Bell Telephone Company after much litigation over the patent supremacy.

My qualifications as a telegraph operator gave me the highly cherished position of telephone operator. It was a question in the minds of the people at that time

whether the telephone would ever be a success as a commercial proposition. Employes could have had stock in the company at a nominal figure if our salaries would have permitted this extravagant investment.

The system was very imperfect from the fact that on occasion of a severe rain storm and lightning the wires would all burn out; the lightning arrester hadn't put in its appearance as yet. The cable for telephonic purposes was inaugurated several years later. The conduits for storing wires under the ground was also a later project. Consequently you can well imagine the havoc wrought to overhead wires in the event of a storm. I recall distinctly after severe storms every man available would be sent out to repair the crippled telephone system. The conduit is certainly a revelation by way of eliminating wire trouble. The company subsequently moved to No. 14 West Seneca street, where it remained until its present modern building was erected.

Now as to batteries. In those days each telephone subscriber had liquid cell batteries with poisonous vitriolic substance so that when the glass jar broke the fluid would raise havoc and the company had many damage suits to settle by reason thereof. Subsequently some genius invented a system by which the battery was eliminated from the subscriber's line, and what a relief! Formerly every line had batteries connecting therewith in the central office which today, if this system were in vogue, hundreds of thousands of cells would have been necessary to carry on the work of the telephone but fortunately the direct line, as it is now known, eliminates the battery.

The instruments shown in the accompanying picture include the telephone that was installed in the office of Dr. Roswell Park in 1879. It is now preserved in the Historical Society museum.

In the same picture is shown the first telephone di-

EARLY TELEPHONE AND FIRST BUFFALO TELEPHONE DIRECTORY.

rectory of Buffalo. It was a cardboard folder, four by six inches in size. The first page was the title, which reads as follows:

"The Buffalo Telephone Exchange, List of Subscribers. Executive office 15 Clinton street, E. J. Hall, Jr., general manager. Central office and operating rooms, over 377 Main street, corner Eagle street." The other three pages contain the names of 115 subscribers, mostly business firms. One entry is: "Police station No. 1, Terrace. Connection is made here by Police Telegraph, with all other stations." And this notice is added: "Over 100 subscribers will be added to this list in a few days, as soon as the telephones can be put in." Notwithstanding its crudities and difficulties the new method of communication rapidly became popular.

One of the early difficulties, which some subscribers occasionally intimate is not yet removed, was a proper adjustment of the rate of pay for service. So uncertain was the future of the business when the exchange was opened on the fourth floor of the Williams block, Main and Eagle streets, that the operatives frequently had to wait for their salaries until some subscriber sent in a check.

The headquarters in Buffalo were moved several times, but stayed for many years at 14 West Seneca street. In 1912 the New York Telephone Company took possession of its own 16-story building at Church and Franklin streets.

HISTORIC WAMPUM

A wampum belt, 21 inches long, three and a half inches wide, of 10 strands, white with diagonal double bars of purple; and a few strings of wampum—who can tell their story? They are old, of course; the very word "wampum" implies that; only a few facts concerning them, or concerning events with which they have been connected, can be here set down.

But of the fuller, truer history of an ancient wampum belt, who could undertake to tell? One's fancy may construct but imperfectly, the conditions under which it was made. An Eighteenth century Tuscarora or Seneca village by some clear stream, or quiet lake amid the hills of Central or Western New York; the wampum-maker, with the rude implements of his craft, cutting and drilling the shells, working out the pattern, stringing the bits on deerskin thongs; and finally, sewing the strings into one broad band, a magic belt that by its pattern and design should convey a message, a pledge of gratitude and friendship, or a threat and challenge. An old wampum belt like this is a visible reminder of an institution that was highly developed but has now well nigh passed from the knowledge and has wholly passed from the use, of men.

The first we know of this wampum belt is, that in the autumn or early winter of 1799 a delegation of Tuscarora Indians called on Captain Israel Chapin at Canandaigua, made speeches and gave him the wampum belt. The only account of the occasion known to the writer is contained in a letter written by Chapin to Theophilus Cazenove, agent of the Holland Land Co., which runs as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, 27th Jan'y, 1799.

DEAR SIR:—A few days before I left home the principal chiefs of the Tuscarora nation came to me with an earnest request that I would petition the Holland company that their reservation might be enlarged, and at the same time presented a large belt of wampum as a token of their earnest desire.

The Tuscaroras state that Mr. Ellicot [*sic*] sent a party of surveyors to run off their reservation, viz., one mile square, presented to them by the Holland company and also one mile square granted by the Seneca nation. The surveyors began at the westernmost part of their town and run a course east, and the two miles aforesaid did not include the whole of their houses and farms. (The number left out are the red marks on the small piece of paper inclosed which they gave to me.) The Tuscaroras made a very sensible speech on this subject—that they found the tract allotted to them was not sufficient to afford them a living, that they had many children among them which they were teaching to work in the manner that white people do, as they found they could not have recourse to any other method and without a larger quantity of land they must soon leave their poor children in a miserable condition. They say they have always been a peaceable people, that when other nations were at war with the United States, they were peaceable, that if they had been of a bad disposition they might have joined the hostile Indians, as they had no land then that they could call their own and could have quitted their country; but they say they have chosen the place where they now live, having been driven quite from North Carolina, and they beg their seats may be made so long as to yield them a living and their children after them.

The principal chiefs of the Seneca nation were present at this talk and were much interested in the same, and told me that the Holland Land company might rest assured that if she would grant one more square mile to the Tuscaroras they would grant another on their part, making two square miles to be added to the two they had before.

I can add for my own opinion that I think the Tuscaroras as much deserving as any Indians, from their peaceable dispositions and their habit of industry which they appear desirous to promote; I believe Sir would you have seen them in their concern, the anxious feeling for their children and their own accommodation, would led you at once to have granted their request. I have thought it would not be improper to give you

this statement in writing that you might be enabled better to understand the business.

Dear Sir, I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

Your obedient Servant,

ISRAEL CHAPIN.

TH. CAZENOVE, *Agent of the Holland Land Company.*

The writer of this letter was Captain Israel Chapin, son of General Israel Chapin. Father and son alike had a good deal to do with shaping the destiny of Western New York, yet comparatively little is recorded of them. The elder Israel Chapin was born at Hatfield, Mass., in 1740 or '41. In the Revolution he commanded a company of minute-men (1775-1778), rose to be colonel and, at the close of the war, brigadier general. He was one of the pioneer founders of Canandaigua, coming to that place in 1789, and removing his family thither in 1790. General Knox, when Secretary of War, made General Chapin General Agent for Indian Affairs of the United States. A large part of his activities were devoted to the New York State Indians. He attended the treaty of Buffalo Creek in 1793, and his portrait appears in a sketch which was made on that occasion, showing a group of the principal participants in the treaty.[1] General Chapin died at Canandaigua in 1795; and such was the esteem in which he was held by the Indians, that many of them attended his funeral, where Red Jacket shed tears as he made a funeral speech, in behalf of the Six Nations, extolling their departed friend. They gave a belt of black wampum, and covered his grave with leaves and flowers. Such were not always the Indians' tribute to the white man's memory!

His son, Israel, succeeded the father as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It was to him that the Tuscaroras entrusted their mission to the Holland Land Company's

1. This drawing is reproduced in Volume VI, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, p. 497.

agent, sending the wampum belt to confirm their words. In due course Mr. Cazenove replied as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, 31 Jany. 1799.

Capt. ISRAEL CHAPIN,
Agent of the U. S. for Indian Affairs.

SIR—I have received your letter of the 27th inst, and also the belt of wampom [*sic*] presented by the chiefs of the Tuscaroras nation ot the Holland land Company as a token of their earnest desire to have their reservation of land extended so as to comprehend one mile square of land [more] than the one mile square already granted to them, stating for reason of their request that a quantity of their wigwams have not been included in the land lately laid out for their use and that the tract allotted to them is not sufficient to afford them a living, the cultivation of the land being the only ressource they can recurr to.

Being only the Agent of the Holland Land company I can act only according to my instructions, and as those instructions contain no power to make a donation of land, I must request you to state to the chiefs of the Tuscaroras nation that their representation shall immediately be forwarded to Holland; but that from the knowledge I have of the Holl'd L. comp's generosity and good wishes towards the Indian tribes I have every reason to expect a favorable answer, and that Mr. Paul Busti who will succeed me in the comp'y's Agency will receive the proper instructions to grant to the Tuscaroras nation one mile square of land annexed to the one mile square already granted, and upon the same clauses & conditions. In the meantime Mr. J. Ellicot shall be directed to lay out that new mile square of land in a manner convenient for both parties, in order that everything may be settled and ready when the expected authorization shall arrive.

I am with great regard,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
THEOP. CAZENOVE.

One can but remark the caution and scrupulous nicety with which Agent Cazenove stated the limitations of his power; this was equally characteristic of Mr. Busti, when he came into office. But both of these fine old-fashioned gentlemen took pains to assure the Indians of their good will and the good will of the Holland Land Company.

In due time the request of the Tuscaroras was granted, and there were set aside for them 1280 acres, covering their settlement on the ridge east of Lewiston. To this the Seneca Nation later added still another square mile. And this wampum belt played its part in the transaction. According to Indian custom and feeling, the deal could not have gone through, and would not have been valid, without it. It was like the acknowledgment of a deed.

In due time the wampum belt went to Holland, probably after being preserved and exhibited at the office of the Holland Land Company in Philadelphia. When in the lapse of years the Messrs. Van Eeghen & Co., Amsterdam, succeeded to the interests and effects of the Holland Land Company, this belt passed into their keeping.

In 1914, Mr. Paul D. Evans of Cornell University, now professor of history at Syracuse University, was at work on a thesis, his subject being the Holland Land Company. He came to Buffalo to examine the documents, letter-books, etc., of the company, which are in the possession of the Historical Society. He pursued his investigations later in Amsterdam, where in the keeping of Van Eeghen & Co., he saw the Tuscarora belt. Thanks to his good offices, and to the courtesy of the Dutch owners, this historic wampum was presented to the Buffalo Historical Society, and returned to the region whence it was sent by the Tuscaroras 122 years ago.

The story of the string wampum preserved with it is of somewhat different tenor. This skein was given, September 15, 1797, by sachems of the Seneca nation, to Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, appointed by the United States Government to superintend the treaty between the Seneca nation and Robert Morris. This was the Treaty of Big Tree, by which the Senecas gave up their Western New York lands, except certain reservations. It was one of the greatest events in the history of the region we call Western New York, and the story of it has been

many times told. The Indians did not make the cession without much protest, much bargaining and haggling. Probably bribery played its part—at least, there was generous distribution of money to influential chiefs and sachems. In the end, conformably to Indian usage, the Senecas gave, not a great and costly belt, but this little "skein" of wampum strings, to Colonel Wadsworth. He handed it over to Agent Cazenove of the Holland Land Company, as proof of the good will of the Senecas; and as such it has been preserved, for a century and a quarter. It came to the Historical Society with the Tuscarora belt, and like the belt was a gift from Messrs. Van Eeghen & Co. of Amsterdam, Holland.

A RELIC OF WAR AND PEACE

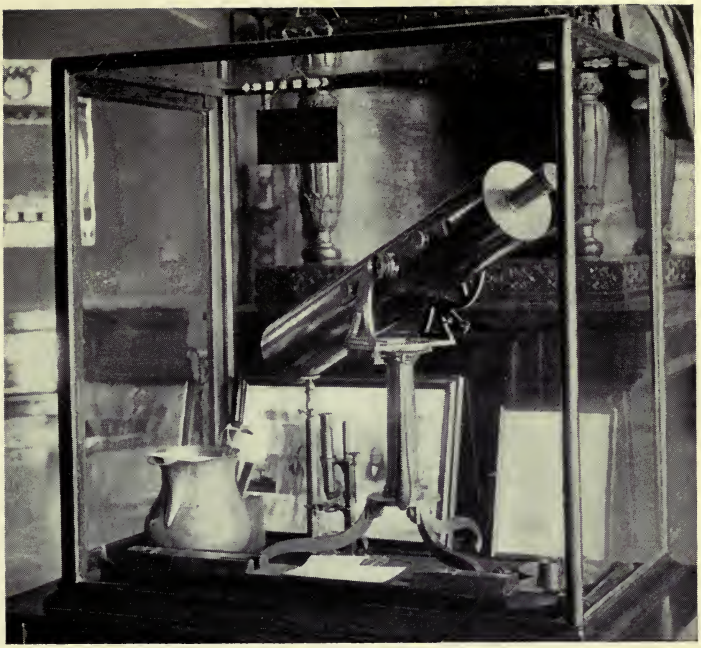
Down in the basement of the Historical Building, with old cannon, carriages, fire engines, tombstones and other large articles of ancient days, all more or less historic, is Buffalo's original and veritable Old Sow. Not that here is maintained a piggery—perish the thought! But from the stormy days of 1812, when the sorely beset little hamlet of Buffalo threw up batteries for protection, one of them, a crude earthwork a short distance south of Ferry street having in it only an eight-inch mortar, said mortar has been known and denominated for more than a hundred years as the "Old Sow."

Whether it ever did any execution, deadly or even damaging, against the enemy, is not recorded in the pages of history. It is of cast-iron, two feet nine inches long, 19 inches in diameter, with a mouth of nine inches. This mouth is closed with a round iron ball, given to the Society in 1894 by Charles A. Buehl.

Contemplating its proportions, one may be excused for questioning whether it ever had power to hurl its projectiles across the Niagara river. Who procured and planted it, is not known; nor indeed, whether it proved of any service whatever during the war. After the war, it just lay around, old-sow-like; too heavy and useless to tempt any one to steal it.

In 1821, when Samuel Wilkeson was digging a deeper channel for Buffalo Creek, and thereby, as has been fairly claimed, laying the foundations of a great city, he sorely needed something heavy with which to drive the piles. A resident of Buffalo in those days, Mr. William Hodge, wrote many years ago of this incident as follows:

"There was no iron foundry in Buffalo at that time; no



BLENNERHASSETT'S TELESCOPE.—See p. 219.

THE OLD MORTAR OF 1812.—See p. 214.

pile-driver had ever been used here, and there were no facilities for procuring one. Mr. Wilkeson tried to get one from a furnace in Ohio, but did not succeed. There were no railroads then in this western country, nor was the Erie Canal in practical existence until some eight years subsequently. To procure a pile-driver from Albany or the interior of Pennsylvania, or anywhere else where there were iron foundries, was quite out of the question.

"Then was demonstrated the truth of the proverb that 'necessity is the mother of invention,' by the contrivance which was produced to drive those piles. Samuel Wilkeson had undertaken to improve Buffalo harbor, and was determined to succeed. There was in the village 'lying around loose,' yet very heavy and quiet, a cast iron mortar that had been used against the British in the War of 1812-'14, and with this Mr. Wilkeson believed he could do the necessary work. One of the trunnions of this mortar had been broken off. To fit it for its new purpose, the other must be broken off also. The services of Whipple Hawkins, a well-known blacksmith, who resided outside of the village, at the corner of (the present) Main and Utica streets, were called into requisition to do this, and rig certain wrought-iron fixtures to the mortar for the purpose in hand; and thus it was actually made to do good service in driving the piles necessary in making Buffalo harbor. And this was 'continued in office,' as a pile-driver in this harbor, for many years."

Judge Wilkeson's own account of the construction of Buffalo harbor is to be found in volume five, Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. In that most interesting and valuable paper, he tells how, during the season of 1820, he and his associates built and sunk cribs, to confine the waters of Buffalo Creek in the new channel. It was not until the spring of 1821 that the driving of piles was undertaken and the old mortar utilized. "A

good substitute for a hammer," says Judge Wilkeson, in the narrative referred to, "was found in a United States mortar, used during the last war, but which had lost one of its trunnions. After breaking off the other, two holes were bored through the end for the staple by which to hoist it. The ends of the staple projecting into the chamber were bent, and the chamber itself filled with metal. Similar holes were bored on each side, and two bars of iron between two and three inches square firmly secured to act as guides. The hollow part being filled with a hard piece of wood, cut off even with the end, it proved to be an excellent hammer of about 2000 pounds weight. The machinery to raise the hammer was of the cheapest and simplest kind, and was worked by a single horse."

Never was there a better illustration of the adage, "Necessity is the mother of invention." And think of the results! What indeed may not be ascribed, in our local development, to this old mortar! The mortar made the harbor. The harbor made the city. It was the first harbor, with a channel protected by piling, on the Great Lakes. Nor was it achieved without vast effort and trouble. On one occasion, while the work was going forward, there was an extraordinary rise of water. Judge Wilkeson's account of it is worth quoting:

"About seven o'clock in the morning, the lake being entirely calm, the water suddenly rose, and by a single swell swept away the logs that secured the materials in the dam, broke away the dam on the east side, wholly destroyed the west end, which was made of plank, and left the whole a total wreck.

"A more discouraging scene can hardly be imagined. The pile-driving scow, without which the damage could not be repaired, narrowly escaped destruction. The blind horse which worked the pile-driver, was thrown from his platform on the scow, and swimming in his ac-

customed circle, came near drowning. All the lumber, timber, piles prepared for use, with the boats, scows, and every floating article within the range of the swell, were swept from their places and driven up the creek. It was afterwards ascertained that an extraordinary vein of wind had crossed the lake a few miles above this place, and proceeding eastward, prostrated the timber in its course, and marked its way with fearful destruction. This was supposed to have caused the swell referred to."

The pile-driver more than once narrowly escaped destruction. The story of its work, and of the building of the harbor, is full of thrilling incidents. It should be known to every Buffalonian, young and old; for a knowledge of the strenuous efforts that little group of pioneer citizens put forth, a knowledge of how they overcame difficulties, tends to make the citizen of today appreciate more fully, and take greater pride in, the city of which these men of a century ago, laid the foundations.

To what subsequent use the old mortar was put, on the completion of its service as a pile-driver, cannot be chronicled. It had done its part, had well served its time. In ancient Rome, its service would perhaps have been recognized; it would have been enshrined, have become a fane for reverence. In Buffalo village, it probably just lay around, for some years. There are yet many who remember when it was planted, post-like, in the sidewalk at the corner of Main and Dayton streets. Dayton street is unknown to the younger generation; it formerly extended westerly, from Main, near its foot —a short block below Hanover—to Prime street. The Lackawanna railroad wiped these streets off the map. The old mortar stood in front of property of A. P. Yaw, and later was owned by Mr. George R. Potter, from whose family it passed into the custody of the Buffalo Historical Society, which set it up on an iron

frame, put a metal inscription on it, and with the consent of the city officials, placed it in Lafayette Square. Here it stood for some years, along with two cannon of the 1812 period, property of the Society, which then had its home in the Public Library building. In 1902, when the Society moved to its present home in Delaware Park, the "Old Sow" came along too; and here it is likely to repose for many a year.

BLENNERHASSETT'S TELESCOPE

When Aaron Burr, after his duel with Alexander Hamilton in 1804, fled to his daughter's home in South Carolina, he no doubt realized that his political career, in United States service, was wrecked and ended. And now what has been termed the "reckless grandeur" of his mind asserted itself. That he formed an ambitious project, is certain. He seems to have undertaken an enterprise highly treasonable to his country; nothing less, indeed, than the founding of a separate republic —or empire, perhaps—by gathering such following as he could, and undertaking a military expedition into either Texas or Mexico, there to conquer and control a territory of great extent, over which he, or his chosen subjects and representatives, should rule. It is one of the strangest, most fantastic episodes in the history of our country. It is also one of the most familiar, at least to students of the early evolution of the United States.

Why, then, refer to it here? Because the Buffalo Historical Society has in its museum a fine relic, associated with Burr's expedition.

We now turn, as old-fashioned story-tellers have an aggravating habit of doing, to follow the fortunes of another character.

In 1796, there resided in Ireland a wealthy young member of the gentry, of English ancestry, Harman Blennerhassett by name. Seven years before he had been admitted to the bar; but the very flowery biography[1] of him to which we are indebted for a few facts contains no records of his career as a barrister. Instead, it tells of his dilletante wandering about Europe and

1. Safford's "Life of Harman Blennerhassett." Chillicothe, O., 1850.

of his decision to leave Ireland. Disposing of his Irish estate to a relative, Baron Ventry, he married a Miss Agnew, daughter of the lieutenant governor of the Isle of Man. They decided to come to America to make their home. "She was young, intelligent and beautiful. Possessed of an uncommon degree of energy, linked to a temperament of romantic ardor, she listened, with captivated delight, to the fairy stories he repeated, of the far-off land in the Western World."[2] They were evidently two of a kind. Blennerhassett was devoted to the sciences and philosophy, but of practical qualifications for life in a new country he had none. This is shown by the preparations he made before sailing. He bought many books—"an extensive library," says his biographer. He also bought a supply, not of farming implements or blacksmith tools, or axes and guns, but "philosophical apparatus"! One purchase was of special importance, because under no circumstances could it be secured in America. He bought in London, of the old established house of W. & S. Jones, Holborn, a telescope. It was of medium size, about three feet long, on a brass standard, with all the fittings and adjustments that were provided in that day as part of a first class instrument. The lenses were the best that were made. Carefully packed up, with books and musical instruments, and with "philosophical apparatus" which he might play with in the wilderness, these artless immigrants in 1797 sailed for New York. Here they lodged several months, "to study the topography of the country and the character of its inhabitants."

By just what chance it was that Blennerhassett's attention was turned to the wilderness of the Ohio, we cannot say. A few years before, General Rufus Putnam and the Ohio Company had begun settlement in the region. Marietta, "the Plymouth Rock of the West,"

2. Ib.

had existed since 1788, and Fort Harmar since 1785. But some sort of propaganda, some prospectus lauding the cheapness and fertility of Ohio Valley lands, no doubt fell into Blennerhassett's hands. One would have thought that with his predilection for science and the arts, he would have turned, not to the wilderness, but to such centers of culture as America then had—to Boston, perhaps, or more likely to Philadelphia, unrivalled in America at that time for its devotion to science—where still were vivid and active the memory and influence of Franklin, of Bartram, of Rittenhouse. Instead of seeking such a congenial community, Blennerhassett and his bride made the tedious and difficult journey to Pittsburgh, from which rough frontier town, in the autumn of 1797, they set out on a keel-boat, with books, telescope and all the rest of their impedimenta, and voyaged down the Ohio. The winter was passed at Marietta.

The unpractical quality of his mind is seen in a project which tempted him for a time, of erecting, on the summit of a hill near Marietta, "a castle, after the manner of many in his native country, but the ascent being difficult, and the declivities too precipitous, he abandoned the idea." The following spring he bought an island in the river below Parkersburg, then known as Backus island, but since his purchase as Blennerhassett's island. It consisted of about 170 acres and on it, near the head, was a block-house. He moved in and set up his telescope. He bought a number of slaves, and with such other labor as he could hire, cleared away the forest, laid out and planted large grounds. He built a residence which, including the clearing and planting, is said to have cost sixty thousand dollars, a prodigious sum for the time and place. No wonder that Blennerhassett's island became famous. It speedily became the show-place of America, west of the Alleghenies.

Here for a few years Blennerhassett lived in unproductive lavishness; unproductive, in that, notwithstanding his money, his leisure, his books and his scientific equipment, he produced nothing. Not even the slightest paper on any literary or scientific subject, is known to have come from his pen. If he made any discoveries with his fine telescope, or any contributions whatever to knowledge, the history of his times fails to mention them.

Now, once more after the fashion of poor story-tellers, we return to Aaron Burr. In the throng of visitors at Blennerhassett's island, he came, in 1805, attracted, 'tis said, by Blennerhassett's money and by Blennerhassett's wife. We will leave the lady out of it—she had her fill of troubles, later on. But her dreaming husband with his money, his visionary mind, and evidently a lack of moral principle, was ripe fruit for such an arch-schemer as Burr. Blennerhassett was soon induced to join in the scheme for a southwestern empire; if it succeeded, great preferment was to be his; he was to be prime minister, or ambassador to Great Britain, and would have rank and title of duke at least.

When Burr first visited the island, Blennerhassett was absent, but Mrs. Blennerhassett received him, graciously entertained him, and showed him the many attractions of the spot. Was he not the late Vice President of the United States, entitled to all possible attention? She no doubt called his attention to the telescope —Aaron Burr probably squinted into it, as countless children do to this day, all unmindful of the fact that the lenses are removed. The lady was impressed with her guest, Burr was impressed with the opportunity to promote his schemes. He came again, became intimate with the master of the island, and, in the end, hopelessly involved him in his treasonable projects.

The story of the attempted expedition is familiar

history. In November, 1806, President Jefferson issued a proclamation, calling on civil and military officials to be alert in apprehending and bringing to justice those who were sharing in the unlawful expedition. Hearing that the Virginia militia had been called out and was on its way to his island, Blennerhassett departed under cover of night, leaving his wife and two boys to follow. When the troops reached the island they found the property in charge of servants, Mrs. Blennerhassett and her children having fled to Marietta in the hope of overtaking her husband and going on with him down the river. She did not succeed in joining him, and when she returned, in December, she found that the militia, and a band of alleged accomplices who had been detained there by the troops, had well nigh ruined the place. "The mob spirit of the militia began to run riot," says Safford in the narrative already quoted from. "All was confusion. The well stored cellars of the mansion began to pour forth their riches; drunkenness ensued. Fences were torn down, to pile upon the blazing fire of the sentinels; the shrubbery was trampled under foot." Mrs. Blennerhassett was permitted to occupy one room in her own house, for one night; and on the next day she said a final farewell to what had been a beautiful home for seven years, and with some necessary stores and furniture embarked on a river boat and in the following January rejoined her fugitive husband. The costly house, with its library, its scientific and philosophical apparatus, was left to its fate.

Burr was ultimately arrested, tried and acquitted. Blennerhassett was twice arrested, imprisoned and held for trial. On the acquittal of Burr, he was discharged. In spite of the acquittal the public generally regarded Burr as guilty of treasonable designs against his country, and Blennerhassett as his weak but willing tool. The latter now found himself ruined, with a horde of

clamorous creditors. His island estate was seized, and turned into a hemp field. His library and scientific instruments were sold under writs of attachment. "His beautiful mansion, together with its surrounding shrubbery, had been regarded as public property. Its fair gardens had been destroyed, not less by the hands of the ruthless freebooter than the negligence of his tenants and the floods of the Ohio. Not satisfied with that which might be removed without injury to the freehold, the window casings were torn out, to procure the leaden weights by which the sashes were raised. Even the beautiful stone roller, used for leveling his grounds, was crushed to pieces, to obtain the iron axles on which it ran." (Safford wrote more than seventy years ago, when perhaps lawn rollers were "beautiful.") The mansion was presently turned into a granary, and finally was accidentally burned.

After the fiasco of Burr's trial at Richmond, Blennerhassett, finding himself free from the law, settled near Natchez and undertook cotton-growing. He preferred claims against Burr of $35,000, for boats, supplies, etc., provided for the expedition. Burr utterly deserting him, Blennerhassett turned to Governor Alston of South Carolina, who was Burr's son-inlaw, and threatened to publish Alston's connection with the conspiracy, unless he made good Blennerhasett's losses. It is said Alston paid over $10,000. The War of 1812 coming on, the cotton market was ruined. After a period of increasing ill-fortune and poverty, Blennerhassett in 1819 removed to Montreal, hoping to obtain a judgeship through the Governor, the Duke of Richmond, who was an old schoolmate. Disappointed in this, in 1822 he went to England, cherishing the hope that family property might be secured through reversionary action. Relying on influence which no longer existed, he was again disappointed. He appears to have returned to America for his family;

they retired to Port St. Pierre in the island of Guernsey, where, in 1831, he died. Mrs. Blennerhassett in 1840 returned to the United States, with an invalid son, and made her home in New York City. Two years later, when through the aid of friends, she addressed a petition to Congress, she is described as being in actual want for the necessities of life. Her petition asked for recompense for the island property, and indemnity for damage done by the militia. Robert Emmett, son of the famous Irish patriot, interested himself in her behalf. Henry Clay, who had been a guest of the Blennerhassetts in their island paradise, favored a grant for her relief; but while the matter was in the hands of a committee, Mrs. Blennerhassett died, June 16, 1842.

At the sale of the Blennerhassett effects, books, musical instruments, scientific apparatus, pictures, etc., which escaped destruction on the island, the telescope was bought by Mr. George M. Justice of Philadelphia, a gentleman of scientific attainments and of considerable repute as an astronomer. He it was who was commissioned by the school authorities of his day to import and mount an instrument in the observatory of their building in Broad street—the famous school of which John S. Hart (author of Hart's grammars and other text-books) was then principal. The Blennerhassett telescope remained in the family of Mr. Justice until 1905, when it was deposited with, and later presented to the Buffalo Historical Society by his grandson, Mr. William G. Justice, for many years active in business in Buffalo, a former City Comptroller, and for some years a member of the Board of Managers of this Society. Mr. Justice now resides at Lake Helen, Florida.

Several other articles of interest, preserved in the case with the Blennerhassett telescope, are shown, more

or less clearly, in the accompanying picture. One of them is an old English microscope, made in London by George Adams in the reign of George III. Another, of local interest, is a pewter pitcher bought about 1840 from William H. Glenny, who about that date founded the business which, under his own name and that of his sons, held a high place for many years. At the bottom and front of the case, not easy to distinguish in the picture, is a beautifully-made cedar model of the *Chief Engineer of Rome,* by which the trial and first excursion trip on the Erie Canal was made, October 23, 1819, from Utica to Rome and return. This model was made in England in 1817, by Canvass White. It was presented to the Buffalo Historical Society by William C. Young, a rod-man in Erie Canal surveys, 1816-17, and kinsman of the Whites of Whitesboro, in whose family this model was preserved for more than fifty years.

A RELIC OF OUR FIRST SCHOOL

On the north wall of the Dun building, at Pearl, Swan and Erie streets in this city, a bronze tablet records the fact that the first school-house in Buffalo formerly stood on that site.

In the library of the Buffalo Historical Society is preserved the original subscription-list for building this first school-house. It is a hand-made blank book, six and a half by four and a half inches in size, bound in very rough old cardboard. A picture of it is given in this volume, in which it is shown propped open by the hard-cider cup of 1840.

This little book, made and used in 1807, is the oldest relic of the Buffalo schools. It was preserved for many years by Mr. Joshua Gillett of Wyoming, N. Y., who in November, 1866, presented it to the then new Historical Society. This institution has cared for it for more than a half century.

The first two pages are blank. On page three is written the following:

At a meeting of the Inhabitance of the Vilage of Buffaloe meet on the twenty ninth Day of March Eighteen hundred & Seven at Joseph Landons inn By a Vote of Sd meeting Zenas Barker In the Chair for the purpos to arect a School Hous in Sd Village by a Subscription of the Inhabitance.

also Voted that Samuel Pratt Joseph Landon & Joshua Gillet be a Committee to Receive Sd Moneys so Rais-d & to See that they are Appropriated on the School House above mentioned which Subscriptions are to be paid in by the first Day of June next or Such part of it as Shall be wanted by that time

Plain enough, and to the point, but yet suggesting that perhaps there was need of a school-house. Not that we

hold it against the Fathers of the Hamlet because their spelling and use of capitals, was somewhat eclectic. Nothing, conditions of the time considered, could be less essential than trifles like these. The essential thing was, to get the money, a very scarce commodity in the little Buffaloe of 1807. The succeeding pages of this ancient memorandum-book tell the rest of the story. On each page is entered the subscriber's name and the amount he pledged, followed by credits for his payments. The total list of subscribers is not too long to set down here. With one exception they are all dated March 30th—the day after the meeting:

Sylvenus Mabee	$ 20	Levi Strong	5
Joseph Landon	20	William Hull	10
Major Noble	2	Samuel Pratt	22
Zenas Barker	10	Richard Mann	5
Thomas Fourth	3	Samuel Andrews	1
Joshua Gillet	15	Garret Freeland	1
Joseph Wells	7	Billa Sherman	cts 87½
John Johnston	10	Asahel Adkins	5
Nathaniel W. Sever	10	George Kith	7.50
Isaac H. Bennet	3		

In addition to the above (some of the names are misspelled) Levi Desha gave "one Dayes work" on the schoolhouse.

When it came to payment, many of the subscriptions, which by the foregoing totaled $157.37½, were paid in part in labor or supplies. Thus, Sylvanus Mabee, whose subscription heads the list, paid eight dollars in cash on July 4th—a patriotic celebration!—nine dollars and a half on July 29th, and the balance in "nailes." Major Noble, who subscribed two dollars, paid it all in work, two days. A dollar was then a good price for a day's work by a carpenter. Joshua Gillet (as the name is here written) subscribed $15, but gave $16.71 in boards, shingles, nails and, on Apr. 13, 1807, "2¼ gallon whiskey"

at 10 shillings a gallon. This was probably the day when the school-house frame was raised, and as history repeatedly proves, it took whiskey to make a "raisin'."

In several instances, there is no credit set opposite the subscriber's name; not all of the pledges were made good. Probably money, supplies or work came in from some whose names do not appear in the little book. Samuel Pratt, who subscribed $22, paid $1.28 in cash, the rest, evidently, in supplies, for on Nov. 8, 1808, he is credited: "by his account Rendered, $14.72; by 2000 Shingles @ 24s, $6." George Kith, who was perhaps a carpenter, paid $7.50 in cash—this also on July 4th—and received additional credits for work amounting to $30.50. He is also credited with the following items under date of May 23, 1809: "By Zenas Barker, $4.50. By Samuel Pratt, $1.37. By Joseph Landon, $3. By Joseph Wells, $5." Landon, who kept the village tavern, and was a public-spirited man, not merely paid his cash subscription of $20, but apparently donated an account, probably for refreshments furnished, which on November 10, 1808, stood at $32.23.

So the first little school-house—probably a "little red school-house," though we find no item for paint—was built. It could hardly have been used before it was shingled, and since Mr. Pratt's charge for 2000 shingles is dated Nov. 10, 1808, it is perhaps a fair deduction, in the absence of records, that it was first used for school purposes in the winter of 1808-09. There were great trees about, and a pleasing prospect of the lake. The little children who sat there on the wooden benches, or played under the trees, were no doubt familiar with the passing or loitering figures of blanketed Indians, and with the sight of big game from the near-by deep woods. This rough, crude little account-book is magically stimulating to the imagination!

Then came the War of 1812—came the soldiers, the

enemy Indians, the tomahawk and firebrand. In December, 1813, the first little school-house went up in flame and smoke; perished, in the fifth year of its age. It lived long enough to begin a school system which, waxing great as the decades passed, is seemingly never to get beyond a state of warfare.[1]

The day that the school-house was burned, Joshua Gillett hastily picked up such of his belongings as he could get together, put them in a wagon and drove off in fear of his life, through the stump-bordered, rutty roads to the eastward. At the bottom of a trunk which he took along was the school-house subscription-book. Thus it escaped the destruction that befel most of the documents and records of the time. It remained in the keeping of his family until 1866 when Joshua Gillett, son of the Joshua who had saved it, learning of the new Historical Society in Buffalo, realized that here was the proper custodian for this one and only relic of Buffalo schools before the burning, and turned it over to the Society, as above recorded.

So ends the story of the original subscription-book for Buffalo's first school-house; but the story of the school-house itself by no means ended with its destruction.

According to a credible authority[2] the total amount of subscription paid was $101; but in adjusting the claims of Buffalo for war losses, some years later, the commissioners allowed $500 for it. "The queerest part of the whole matter," says Mr. Johnson, "is that Doctor [Cyrenius] Chapin, who carried on a suit for over fifteen years, on the ground that he was one of the chief proprietors, doesn't appear as a subscriber at all." Dr. Chapin lived diagonally across Cayuga street—now Pearl street—from the school-house. For many years that site has been

1. Note for future historians: This is written in the fall of 1921. For details of the conflict, see daily papers.
2. Crisfield Johnson: "The first school-house in Buffalo," in vol. one, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, 1879.

covered by the Chapin block, now renamed the Liberty building; a change which removes from the map one of the most historic names associated with the evolution of Buffalo.

Some further details were gathered many years ago by Mr. Oliver G. Steele, who as Superintendent of Buffalo Schools, did very much for their upbuilding. In an historical sketch written for the Historical Society, in 1863, published in 1879—the year of Mr. Steele's death—occur the following paragraphs about the first school:

The village was one district, and No. 1 of the town. The earliest information I have been able to obtain, in regard to the building of a school-house, is, that about 1806 permission was obtained from the Holland Land Company, to occupy a lot on the southwest corner of South Cayuga (now Pearl) and Swan streets, since known as the Fobes lot, and opposite the well-known residence of Mr. George Coit.[3] It was supposed that the lot was given for school purposes, but no conveyance was ever made. The school-house was built, as near as I can ascertain, by private subscription, or, as it has been termed, a "bee," or contributions of materials and labor by the settlers. Among the names I have heard mentioned as contributors are those of Samuel Pratt (father of Mrs. Esther Pratt Fox, and grandfather of Samuel F. Pratt), Doctor Cyrenius Chapin, Gamaliel St. John, Joseph Landon and Zenas Barker. It was attended by most of the children of the village, there being for some time no other school.

The first teacher was Samuel Whiting, a Presbyterian minister. The next, and best known, was Amos Callender, whose name occurs in nearly every movement connected with morals, education, religion and good order. Mrs. Esther Pratt Fox, Mrs. P. Sidway, Eliza Cotton and Mrs. William Ketchum, are the only pupils of Deacon Callender known to be residents in the city.[4] Mrs. Sidway informs me that about 1810 or 1811, some of the inhabitants thought something more was wanted for their children, and Gamaliel St. John induced a Mr. Asaph Hall to open what was called a grammar school, in the court

3. The site now covered by the extension of the Manufacturers & Traders National Bank. The Coit house was not torn down but moved to Virginia street, east of the present Music Hall, where it still stands, seemingly in fair condition.
4. In 1863.

house. This continued for some little time, but could not be sustained permanently.

The old school-house, however, has a history. It was burned when the village was destroyed by the British, in 1813-14, but this, although it terminated its existence, did not end its history. After the law for the relief of the Niagara sufferers was passed by Congress, all who had suffered losses, or could create a claim, filed the same with the commissioners. General H. B. Potter was a trustee of the district, and filed a claim in its behalf. The claim was allowed at five hundred dollars, which was paid to General Potter. In the meantime, the district had been divided, another district having been organized north of Court street, called No. 2. The trustees of this district claimed a share of this money, and commenced a suit for its recovery. Dr. Chapin hearing of it, also claimed that he was entitled to a share, as he was a large contributor to the original building. In this dilemma, which reminds one of the celebrated triangular duel of *Midshipman Easy*, General Potter could only extricate himself by applying to the Court of Chancery for relief. This was finally obtained, by an order to pay the money into court; which was done, less the costs, and General Potter was relieved. The suits in the meantime went on, and were not finally decided until about 1838.

In that year Mr. Joseph Clary, as a representative of the upper district, paid to me, as superintendent of schools, a bill of costs obtained against his district, in the settlement of the suit. This was all that old District No. 1 (now No. 8) received of the five hundred dollar windfall; the whole of the original amount having been absorbed in costs. District No. 2 had a heavy bill of costs to pay, as did also the estate of Dr. Chapin.

THE RED JACKET RELICS

No account of things preserved in the museum of the Buffalo Historical Society should omit mention of the Red Jacket relics. Most of them are kept together in a case in the Indian room.

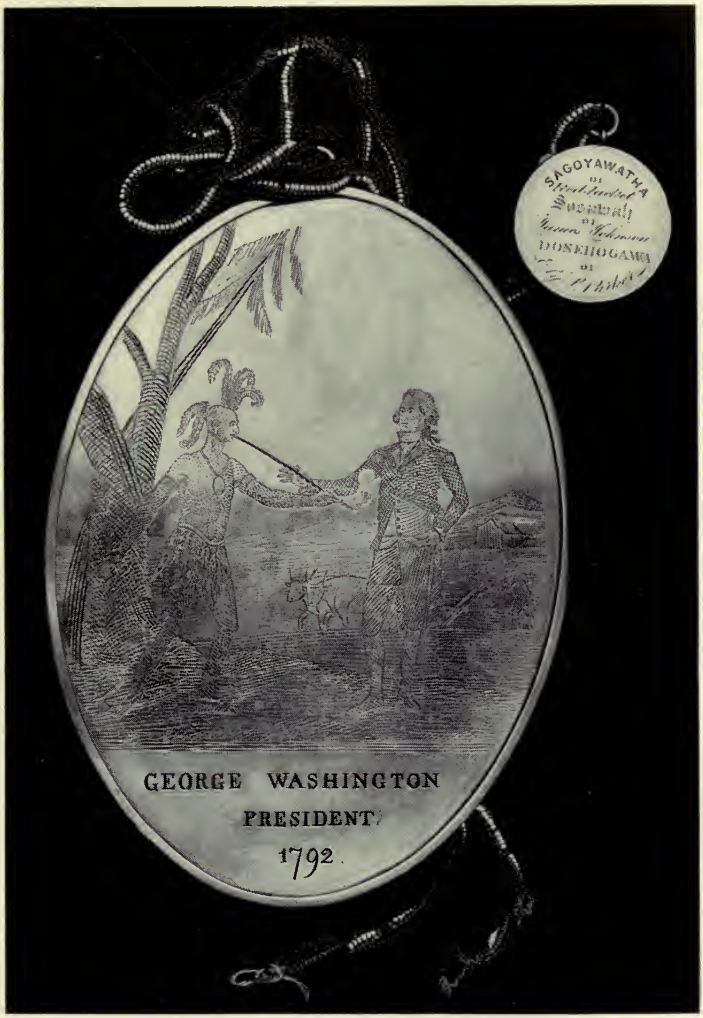
First in importance is the silver medal which President Washington gave to Red Jacket in 1792. Here is the tomahawk pipe—more properly, perhaps, the peace-pipe—received by Red Jacket on the same occasion. Here are a lock of gray hair and tiny fragment of leggins taken from Red Jacket's coffin when his grave was opened in 1852. Here is Red Jacket's signature—not his written name, but a cross-mark—by which he acknowledged receipt of the Government annuity of $100, for the year 1811, paid to him by Indian Agent Erastus Granger, at Buffalo, June 5, 1812. The Society also preserves an ancient cowbell, vouched for as having been worn by Red Jacket's cow!

The medal and peace-pipe are relics of the first order. They stand for an event, an occasion, of far more than local significance. They recall the first organized attempt of the United States Government to improve the condition of the Indian. Although many treaties had been signed, after a vast deal of speech-making; although some cash payments for Indian land had been made, there still remained, on the part of the New York tribes, much dissatisfaction, much distrust of their white neighbors. At the close of a council held at Painted Post, under the ever-judicious conduct of Colonel Timothy Pickering, in 1791, the Indians were given an elaborate banquet—a "sumptuous entertainment," as one writer calls it. Con-

sidering the crude conditions that then existed at a frontier point such as Painted Post then was, the entertainment could have been little more than a bountiful dinner, with well-cooked meats and vegetables, followed perhaps by pumpkin pie and Indian-meal pudding. But it was served "strictly in accordance with the usages of civilized life," to quote again from William L. Stone. In other words, Red Jacket and his brother chiefs and sachems sat at table and used knives and forks. To include napkins, is too great a tax on credulity. But the object of the dinner was accomplished. The attendant representatives of the Six Nations were impressed with the advantage of the white man's way of living, that gave him white bread, fruits and vegetables in abundance. It was a first lesson in the advantages of farming.

Colonel Pickering followed it up with a fatherly speech in which he told the Indians that if they would go to work, till their fields and plant and cultivate in white man's fashion, in five years they could have just as good crops, and enjoy as great an abundance, of their own raising, as was here offered to them. In this matter Colonel Pickering was carrying forward a benevolent policy which had been formulated by President Washington himself. Before the council broke up, a formal invitation was given to the Indians to visit Philadelphia the following spring and confer further with the white man's "Great Chief," in their own interest. Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother came back to Buffalo Creek, reflecting on what had been promised them; and in the spring of 1792 they went to Philadelphia, which was then the capital of the United States.

The journey from the Buffalo Creek Reservation to Philadelphia was probably made on horseback, with a considerable retinue of young braves, women, and packhorses. Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother reached the



THE RED JACKET MEDAL

Height of original, 6¾ inches; width, 5 inches.

City of Brotherly Love on March 13th. In all, 47 representative men of the Six Nations gathered there, an imposing embassy, on an occasion unique in our history, for it was not a council, there was no treaty to be discussed and signed. The red men gathered there in response to the benevolent and philanthropic overtures of Washington. Numerous interpreters, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland among them, were in attendance; and we may believe that the visitors caused no little stir in the Quaker city. The leading chiefs or sachems, including both Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, and heads of the Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Stockbridges, were received at the State House by Governor Mifflin, in the presence of many ladies and other spectators. The Indians at their encampment, extended courtesies in return, in an exhibition of native dances. About a week after, Red Jacket made a speech expressing their gratification at the civilities shown them. The embassy remained in Philadelphia three weeks, during which time two of the Indians died. One of them, an Oneida chief named Ogiheta, known to the whites as Peter Jaquette, had accompanied Lafayette to France on the latter's return from the United States, and had been educated in that country. An account is still preserved, of his impressive funeral: "The funeral procession from Oeller's Hotel to the Presbyterian burying-ground in Mulberry street, where the remains were interred, was escorted by a detachment of the City Light Infantry, and among those present were the Secretary of War and a number of army officers."

Government representatives seem to have vied with one another in their efforts to win the confidence and trust of the Indians. In closing his speech to them, March 28th, Governor Mifflin said: "I know the kindness with which you treat the strangers that visit your country; and it is my sincere wish that, when you return to your families,

you may be able to assure them that the virtues of friendship and hospitality are also practiced by the citizens of Pennsylvania."

Five days later—an interval demanded by the Indians for deliberation—Red Jacket replied to the Governor, in a speech which appeared to be for peace and friendship, though he must have known that many of his people were resentful and suspicious. A day or two later the Indians were personally presented to the President, who in a short address, expressed his desire for peace and for the advancement of the Indians, in the ways of civilized life.[1] If the medal and peace-pipe were presented personally by the President, it was probably at the close of the speech above indicated, for it was then that he gave a belt of white wampum, and deputized Colonel Pickering and General Knox to conduct the subsequent conferences. In the City Council chamber, on March 31st, Red Jacket, holding this wampum belt in his hand, replied to the President, who was represented by the officers above-named. He met Washington's overtures in a cordial spirit. The white belt, he said, was to be handed down from one generation to another as a confirmation of the President's words, and a witness of the friendly disposition of the United States, towards the peace and happiness of the Iroquois peoples.

What has become of this most historic white wampum belt? Red Jacket brought it back to the Buffalo Creek Reservation, but we cannot trace its history, nor indicate its present whereabouts.

Red Jacket, on this memorable occasion, was cautious in pledging the Indians to take up white men's ways. "Our happiness cannot be great," he said, "if in the introduction of your ways we are put under too much restraint." Washington's plan was to teach the Indians to

1. These speeches, especially those of Red Jacket, are given in Stone's "Life and Times of Red Jacket."

plow and sow and harvest crops as white men did, and this is symbolized on the Red Jacket medal; to build better houses, to keep stock, to spin and make cloth; to have saw mills and grist mills. Red Jacket knew his people, and knew how difficult it would be to replace their old customs with new. Something too of mistrust is evident in his speeches. The white man's words were fair—but there was his record!

The conference concluded amicably, and the Senecas came home elated at the pledge of $1500 to be given the Iroquois for tools, seed, etc. There is abundant testimony that in spite of occasional lapses, Red Jacket greatly cherished the medal and peace-pipe to the end of his days.

A relic with a very different story is the mutilated tombstone which formerly marked Red Jacket's grave in the old Indian burial-ground in South Buffalo. It was erected nine years after he died. His remains were exhumed in 1852, and kept in various depositories, some of them strange enough, until reburied by the Buffalo Historical Society in 1884. This old stone, the only grave-marker that was erected for the greatest Seneca orator, until the fine statue of him was set up by this Society in 1891, is interesting from its association not only with Red Jacket, but because it recalls a distinguished figure in American dramatic history.

Although he died a pagan—which means that he remained true to the faith of his ancestors—Red Jacket was given a Christian burial. For several years the grave was unmarked. Some years after Red Jacket's death Henry Placide came to Buffalo to fill an engagement at the old Eagle-street theater. How it happened that his interest was awakened in Red Jacket, cannot now be stated, but he evidently felt that the resting-place of so great an orator should be suitably marked. Were

they not brother artists in effective speech? Mr. Placide started a subscription fund, solicited contributions from his friends, and secured enough to erect a marble headstone at the grave of the great Seneca orator.

Henry Placide was much more than a popular favorite of a by-gone time. He is rated as one of the ablest of American actors—"the most chaste and finished general comedian of native birth, known to the American stage," is the characterization given him by Joseph Norton Ireland in the standard work, "Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States," Brander Matthews and Laurence Hutton, editors. His father, French by birth, was a gymnast and rope-dancer; his father's first wife was an accomplished *danseuse* and pantomimist; a second wife, the mother of Henry, was a daughter of Mrs. Wrighten, known in America as Mrs. Pownall, a celebrated comic vocalist. Henry was born in Charleston, S. C., in 1799, and in 1807 was appearing with others of the family in ballet-pantomimes at the old Park Theater, New York. His sister Caroline, dancer and comedian, was well nigh as famous in her line as her brother. Born to the stage, his life was given to the stage. In his childhood and youth he played many juvenile parts. In 1823 he was taken into the stock company at the Park, and continued with it for more than twenty years. From 1843 until within a few years of his death, when partial blindness overtook him, he played star engagements throughout the Union as well as at the leading theaters in New York. "His list of characters on the Park stage," writes Mr. Ireland, "out-numbered five hundred, and he was the original representative there of more than two hundred." His death occurred in 1870.

As above stated, it was during a visit to Buffalo, in 1839, that Placide learned of the neglected state of Red Jacket's grave. A plain slab was lettered and set up, and

the player went his way. In those days the Senecas were but recently removed from the Buffalo reservation; the incoming whites, mostly of the near-by German community, occupied the lands from which the Indians reluctantly departed, and without leave or license buried their dead in the old mission cemetery; but neither they nor any one else gave the place decent care. The fence was broken down, cows roamed at will, and heedless boys played among the graves. The stone which Placide had set up over Red Jacket's grave was chipped by relic-hunters, broken by vandals. After the formation of the Buffalo Historical Society and the removal of Red Jacket's remains, the mutilated stone was placed in the Society's museum, and there it may still be seen. All that remains of the inscription is the following:

Friend and protector
of his people
Died Jan. 20, 1832
Aged 78 years.

The original inscription was as follows:

SA-GO-YE-WAT-HA,
(He-keeps-them-awake)
RED JACKET
chief of the
Wolf tribe of the Senecas.
The Friend and protector
of his people
Died Jan. 20, 1832
Aged 78 years

It was singular that the date of Red Jacket's death should have been wrongly lettered on the stone, so soon after his death, which occurred Jan. 20, 1830. His age is correctly given.

Further down on the slab are engraved the words: "Erected by"—but nothing more. Whether the stone-cutter was in doubt, or Actor Placide objected to the

publicity (and he an actor!), whatever may have been the reason, we cannot say. But blank it has remained to this day.

After the reburial of Red Jacket and several other Seneca chiefs, by the Buffalo Historical Society, their new graves in Forest Lawn were suitably marked, and in their midst was placed a bronze statue of the great orator, one of the finest pieces of statuary in Buffalo. The story of it all is recorded at length in preceding Publications of this Society.

Not far from the Red Jacket relics, in the Historical Building, hangs Stanley's great painting, "The Trial of Red Jacket." That picture is reproduced, and its story told, in volume twenty-three of the Publications. Stanley's picture was on exhibition in Buffalo in 1869, at Blodgett's music store. An old resident who saw it at that time told the following story:

"In the summer of 1826 I was serving the balance of my apprenticeship with Stocking & Dart, on the corner of Swan and Main streets. I boarded at Dyer's Hotel, a stone building on the corner of Exchange and Main streets, where Jebb's Terrapin Lunch is now.[2] About the time I speak of Jacket, with some other Indians, had been in Buffalo for several days, sampling the fire-water dispensed by the various publicans. So long had the spree continued, that the red men had exhausted their small supply of cash, and most of them had even parted with their blankets.

"I was going back to my breakfast one morning—we used to go to the shop and work before breakfast, in those days, just to give us an appetite—and was passing the silversmith shop of Bob ——, which was situated about where Glenny's crockery store is now, when Bob hailed me. On going into the shop, he showed me a large silver

2. The old Terrapin restaurant was in the basement of the Sidway building, corner Main street and the Terrace.

medal, and asked me what I thought of *that*. I asked him where he got it, and he replied: 'I bought it of an Indian last night for four shillings.' He asked me if I thought it was good silver. I replied that it certainly was, and told him it was Red Jacket's medal, the one that had been placed about the neck of the chief by General Washington himself.

"I hadn't much spare money in those days, as I was obliged to clothe myself out of my salary of forty-five dollars a year; but I told Bob that he must neither melt nor sell the medal, and I would get the four shillings, redeem it and return it to Jacket.

"I went down to my boarding-house, told the story to the men,—got sixpence from one, a shilling from another, and some threw in pennies, until the desired amount was raised, with which I immediately returned to Bob's, who took the money and delivered to me the medal. After going back and getting my breakfast, I, instead of returning to my work, went out to hunt up Jacket. In about half an hour I came across him, walking along in company with old Susie, half squaw and half negress, in front of Jake Siebold's store, on Main street. I said:

"*'To-gus, go-da Jacket?'* ('How do you do, friend Jacket?')

"He replied, *'To-gus'*, in a surly tone, and appeared to be considerably cross.

"I then pulled the medal out of my pocket, showed it to him, and asked him if he knew it. Snatching it from my hand with a very surly and emphatic 'Ugh!' he stalked off with Susie, without the utterance of another syllable. I thought he might have thanked me at least."

After Red Jacket's death, the medal passed to his nephew, whose Seneca name was Sosaweh, but who was known to the whites as James Johnson. On his death it came into the keeping of General Ely S. Parker. Some

time after the death of General Parker, it was purchased from General Parker's widow by the Buffalo Historical Society. For a more detailed account of the medal, with proof of its genuineness, the reader is referred to volume twenty-three of these Publications. In the same volume is given the history of Stanley's painting, above referred to.

THE WRECK OF THE "HUSSAR"

By Henry R. Howland

"Full fathom five thy father lies,
Of his bones are coral made,
Those are pearls that were his eyes.
Nothing of him that doth fade,
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange."

In the *Providence Gazette* of December 9th, 1780, appeared the following paragraph:

"A new British frigate of 32 guns, one of the convoy of the Court fleet which lately arrived at New York, we heard, was lost last week coming through Hell Gate." The *Boston Gazette* of December 13th, 1780, said: "We learn that the *Hussar* frigate was cast away in Hell Gate the latter end of last month, when all the people except 80 were lost with the frigate."

In a letter from Fletcher Yetts, a petty officer of the *Hussar* at that time, to the *Edinburgh Observer,* appears the following account of the wreck:

"The *Hussar* struck Pot Rock near three o'clock in the afternoon of the 23rd November, 1780, and did not go down until she swung several miles up the Sound, when she went down in a bay called the Brothers, at seven o'clock of the evening of the same day in seven fathoms of water, and a strong current then running at the rate of nine knots an hour occasioned the loss of 107 brave fellows, part of her crew. When the accident happened the *Hussar* was on her way from New York to Gardiner's Bay with dispatches to Admiral Arbuthnot."

Marshall in his biography of Sir Charles Maurice Pole, the captain of the *Hussar,* says: "The officers and people

except one being all saved, and as no blame whatever could be imputed to Captain Pole in his accident he was charged with Admiral Arbuthnot's dispatches to the Admiralty and soon after his arrival in England received the appointment to the *Success,* 32 guns and 220 men."

Another statement was made at the time that seventy American prisoners taken from the prison ships in the Wallabout and all being heavily ironed went down with the wreck. For all of the foregoing facts I am indebted to a communication made by W. A. Mitchell in 1884 to the *Magazine of American History* and published by that Journal in volume 12, page 90. According to the same record, the British frigate *Hussar* was built in 1763. Her gun deck was 114 feet 4 inches; keel, 102 feet 8 inches; beam, 33 feet 8 inches; hold, 11 feet; tonnage, 619.

The statement as to the spot where she sunk is somewhat misleading, at least to us of this day, as the Brothers islands are quite a distance northeast of Port Morris, off which she went down. From Pot Rock in Hell Gate where she struck, the swift tide carried her past Randall's Island, and she met her doom at a point not far above the mouth of the "Kills," a swift tidal estuary connecting the Harlem river with Long Island Sound. On the northern border of the Kills stood the fine old house once belonging to Gouveneur Morris, distinguished in our Revolutionary history; and in my boyhood, a wharf near Port Morris, then called Morris's dock, made a landing place for local shipping.

Many a weary half hour have I spent in my boyhood trying to row my boat through the Kills against a turning tide, and to my rebellious boyish mind it always seemed to be running in the wrong direction, when I wanted to go through on my way to Morris's dock, and to turn against me when I was ready to row back again.

My home in those years of boyhood was in Harlem, then a pleasant country suburb of New York City, and not far

from what is now known as Convent Heights; and as tidal currents were so prone to be adverse I frequently tramped the four or five miles, crossing the Third Avenue Harlem bridge into Westchester county, and always with willing feet, for was there not the lure of lost treasure to tempt me onwards!

The popular belief, legend it may be, was that the frigate *Hussar* came laden with gold wherewith the British troops in America were to be paid, and that when she went down after drifting through Hell Gate channel she carried with her $960,000 in gold sovereigns, neatly packed in little horn cases, each containing one hundred of the precious gold pieces which might be had for the finding. And so it was, that permission having been obtained, by some adventurous contractor, each summer a small schooner lay anchored off Morris's dock, over the spot where lay the long sunken bones of the frigate, in many fathoms of water, and from its deck divers were sent down to search for the buried gold. In those years of the late fifties and early sixties of the last century, my Saturdays were spent in watching these proceedings. I cannot recall the name of the gold seeker of that time, but he had a son of about my own age who always expected me, and when I signalled from the shore he would row over for me and take me on board the schooner.

It was all so fascinating! The diver in his diving dress and great hideous metal helmet, the preliminary preparations, the pumping-up of the air; the great canvas bag which was first lowered, and then the diver would go down, crow-bar in hand, and we watched the bubbles of escaping air from the depths below until the signal came for his return, when he was hoisted up, and as he sat on the schooner's rail divested of his diving gear and sent to rest until his turn should come again.

Then the great canvas bag which he had filled was hoisted up and emptied on the deck, and varied indeed

were its contents. There were fragments of the old ship's timbers, rust-eaten bits of chain and metal, treasure trove of all sorts, including human bones, but alas, rarely indeed were there any horn cases of golden sovereigns to cheer the heart of the contractor who was spending his wealth without any worthy returns.

But hope never died, and year after year his search was continued, and year after year I tramped the miles to Morris's dock and at times brought home with me relics of the ill-fated *Hussar*. These were of course very precious to a boy, and a few of them that lingered in my hands until later years, are now in the cases of the Buffalo Historical Society for their better preservation. Among them, I think, is a ten-pound cannon ball which I lugged five miles when I brought it home, letting it run down hill by itself, when such a fortunate chance occurred.

Finally a New York lawyer, one Francis Eppley, having secured permission to continue the search for the treasure, very wisely concluded to make a thorough investigation in order to make sure that there really was any treasure to be sought for. He caused careful searches to be made for reliable information but only with partial success. From a statement made by one of the *Hussar's* officers, he ascertained that on the day previous to the catastrophe there were £22,000 on board the *Hussar,* which on the morning following were safely delivered into the hands of Commissary General DeLancey, but he could find no actual evidence that the great amount of golden treasure was really aboard when the frigate went down. To his mind it seemed most probable that the legend was a myth, and he never continued to search the bones of the old frigate still buried in the muddy bottom of the Sound off Morris's dock, but withal without the golden guineas which popular fancy still believes went down with her on that fateful evening of November, 1780.

RELICS OF "OLD IRONSIDES"

By Henry R. Howland

"Ay, tear her tattered ensign down:
Long has it waved on high,
And many an eye has danced to see
That banner in the sky;
Beneath it rung the battle shout,
And far the cannon's roar,
The meteor of the ocean air
Shall sweep the clouds no more."
—*O. W. Holmes.*

Among the most interesting relics preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society are some pieces of the old oak timbers of the famous frigate *Constitution,* with some of the spikes that once held them together; and thereby hangs my tale.

It took the American Congress a long time to decide upon building the first ships of war, and we had endured many indignities at the hands of the Algerian pirates before it was decided and it was not until 1797 that the keel of the *Constitution* was laid, at Boston.

At that time, my great-grandmother lived at Dedham with her father William Avery, in the old Avery house built about 1637 by my ancestor Dr. William Avery, one of the earliest physicians of the Massachusetts Bay colony; and under the shade of the great Avery oak, the largest oak tree in New England. It was a tree of vigorous growth when Dr. Avery first came to the Bay, and it still stands in a vigorous old age, thanks to the honest Yankee pride of my great-grandmother and her father, who flatly refused to allow the splendid old tree to be cut down to make the beams of the frigate *Con-*

stitution in 1797, as they were earnestly urged to do by the Government and by the frigate's builders. So other timbers were used than those of the famous Avery oak which is the pride of Dedham's town seal and of some of us whose forbears as children played under its branches and gathered its acorns for nearly three hundred years.

The story of the frigate *Constitution* is too well known to need repetition. Her career was one of continued victories which brought renown to the infant American navy. Her glorious victory over the British frigate *Guerriére* in 1812 while under the command of Captain Isaac Hull; the capture of the frigate *Java* while under the command of Captain William Bainbridge; and the subsequent capture of the British frigates *Cyane* and *Levant* and the others that followed when under the command of Captain Charles Stewart who succeeded Bainbridge in the summer of 1813, all added fame and glory to the fine old American frigate and won her the well known title of "Old Ironsides."

In the summer of 1868 it was my privilege to visit old Admiral Stewart at his home at Bordentown, N. J. He was then ninety years old and had seen seventy-one years of naval service, and for seventeen years had been the senior officer of our navy. Although at his advanced age he was feeble physically, his mind was alert and keen; his sense of humor strong and his mind was well stored with splendid memories. He had begun his sea service as ship boy on a merchant vessel in 1791, and while at Hayti, so he told me, had by some boyish prank on shore aroused the savage indignation of Toussaint L'Ouverture who boarded the ship, sword in hand, to find him. Fortunately the badly frightened lad had hid himself in the hold, or else, the old gentleman said, "I would never have told you the story."

At the time of my visit Farragut had been making his triumphal round-the-world progress, and the fine old Ad-

miral said to me: "I gave Mr. Farragut his first commission in the Bay of Naples just fifty years ago."

"In those years," he went on, "there was no naval training school. A young fellow went to sea before the mast and if he was ambitious, studied and worked his way upwards until he thought he could apply for a midshipman's commission, when he had to appear before a committee of three or four commodores, who questioned him orally to judge of his qualifications. And that reminds me that I was once on such a commission with old Barron and Hull, when a fine young fellow passed an excellent examination, but Barron who was a rough old sea-dog thought he would trip up the candidate by some fool questions.

" 'What would you do,' said he, 'if you had your ship on a lee shore in a terrific gale and she was disabled?'

" 'How disabled, Commodore?' asked the young man.

" 'Masts all gone, sir! Masts all gone.'

" 'But how about any sail, sir?'

" 'Not a rag; not a stitch. What would you do?'

" 'But how about her steering gear, Commodore?'

" 'Disabled, sir; rudder gone.'

" 'And what would I do, if I had my ship on a lee shore, in a mighty storm and her masts gone, and not a rag of sail and her rudder gone?'

" 'Yes, sir,' said Barron, 'what would you do, sir?'

" 'Well, Commodore, I would let the damned old hulk go to hell where she belonged.'

" 'Quite correct,' said Barron. 'Mr. Secretary, make out his commission.' "

One thing that the fine old Admiral told me, I can never forget. At that time Andrew Johnson was President, and Admiral Stewart said: "I have dined with every President of the United States but two. I have never dined with President Johnson, for I am much too old a man now to go to the White House, and I have never dined with Presi-

dent Washington, but I have had the honor more than once of taking wine with the old General."

And then he went on to describe George Washington to my eagerly listening ears, as he had known him face to face. He told of his personal appearance, his stature, the dignity of his carriage, the manner of his walk, the habit of his speech as he conversed with these young men who, like Stewart, were honored with his friendship; the reverence with which they looked up to him, and a score of other personal memories of him until it seemed to me that instead of looking at a portrait on the wall or at the page of a printed book, I was looking with my own eyes upon one of the immortals.

In the following year, the gallant old Admiral died. His most famous ship, the *Constitution,* "Old Ironsides" as she was called, or what is left of her, is preserved at the Charleston Navy Yard, near Boston, to tell how the early glories of the American Navy were won.

THE TRIAL OF ANDRE

By Henry R. Howland

On the 22nd of September, 1780, the British spy Major John André, returning by land from his treacherous interview with Major General Benedict Arnold at West Point, was captured near Tarrytown by three American patriots, Paulding, Williams and Van Wart, as the obelisk erected on the spot in Sleepy Hollow records most simply, with the added words, "History has told you the rest." It has indeed, for much hinged on the events of that September morning.

The fatal dispatches were found on his person, and he was taken across the river to the sleepy little Dutch village of Tappan, where Washington then had his headquarters. In my boyhood I was wont to spend much time in summer days visiting relatives on the Tappan Zee, between Piermont and Nyack, and one of my frequent pilgrimages while there was to Old Tappan, so full of thrilling Revolutionary associations, many of these still remaining to interest the occasional visitor.

The old stone house with its long sloping roof, and with the date of its erection, 1700, inlaid with the Dutch bricks under its eaves, which was Washington's headquarters, still stands and is well cared for.

Dr. Weir Mitchell's novel, "Hugh Wynne," faithfully describes the old house and its sitting room which Washington occupied, with its ceiling so low that a hole had to be cut in it to receive the old grandfather's clock which still ticked off the hours when I was a boy.

The kindly farmer folk who lived there then allowed me, an inquisitive boy, to rummage in the garret for treas-

ure trove, finding old Dutch tiles and a venerable iron candlestick which may have been used by the great General himself. Then there was and, I hope, still is the old stone tavern where one could see the grey room in which Major André was confined while awaiting the result of his trial. Besides these, there was the old Dutch church in which the court-martial sat for the trial itself. It was a dignified and solemn tribunal which those old walls saw on the 29th of September, 1780, when the court-martial convened, presided over by General Greene.

Fourteen of our Generals were gathered to decide the fate of the British spy. They were Major Generals Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, Lafayette, R. Howe, and Steuben; Brigadier Generals Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Hand, Huntington, and Stark.

The Judge Advocate General of our army conducted the prosecution and the result was inevitable. André was condemned to be hanged as a spy, and on the following day Washington approved the findings of the court.

There have been changes made in the old church since that fateful day. Upon the wall at the back of the pulpit, where General Greene probably sat, was a decorative semi-circle of old Dutch procelain semi-spherical knobs, about three inches in diameter, and in the renovations at the time of my boyhood these were removed and doubtless destroyed. One of them was given to me and is now in the Historical Society's collection of relics. It witnessed the trial of Major André.

His touching letter to General Washington is still extant, asking that he might be allowed to die the death of a soldier and not that of a spy, but this could not be done, and on the 2nd of October, 1780, the funeral procession slowly moved out from the sleepy little village and Washington, standing at the door of his headquarters watched it until it reached the place of execution and then, tradition tells us, turned into the house in tears.

JUST A LOCK OF HAIR

By Henry R. Howland

In the historic annals of Western New York, there is no record more remarkable or touching than the story of the white captive, Mary Jemison, whom we know as "The White Woman of the Genesee."

Born about 1743, the child of Scotch-Irish parents on their voyage of emigration to America, her home was with them at Marsh Creek in southern Pennsylvania until 1755, when their home was devastated by a foraying party of Seneca Indians, her parents and brothers killed, and she herself, a child of twelve or thirteen years, was carried off as a captive. She was taken to an Indian village, down the Ohio, where she was adopted by a Seneca family, who gave her the name of Deh-ge-wa-nus, clothed her in leggings and the dress of an Indian girl, and she began anew her long life among an alien people, who became as her own, and whom she never forsook. After a time she was married to an Indian husband, and when her first child was a little babe she made her long and toilsome journey to the Genesee country which thenceforth became her home.

She was small and slender of stature, and on this wearisome journey she carried her babe upon her back. She had no other protection from the elements than her blanket, and at times, she said, it seemed to her as though the limits of human endurance had been reached. She rested at the old Council House at Caneadea and reaching Little Beard's town was received by those who were to become the associates of her long life until its end.

Hers was a life of much patient endurance. At the Big

Tree Treaty of 1797 she was given a large tract of land on the Gardeau flats of the Genesee River above Mt. Morris. In her old age she sold these lands and removed to the Buffalo Creek reservation, where she died in 1833.

On a winter evening many years ago, sitting before the open fire in my library on Summer street, the venerable Mrs. Asher Wright, who was our guest, took my two little girls upon her lap and told them the story of the last hours of the White Woman.

Mrs. Asher Wright was one of God's ministering saints on earth. She and her husband had been missionaries to the Seneca Indians, while they were still on the Buffalo Creek reservation, and when they were removed to the Cattaraugus, went with them and in that devoted service, ended their days, beloved by all who knew them and most of all by the simple folk of an alien race, whose color and whose gifts were so different from their own, for whom they had so faithfully labored.

"One evening in 1833," said Mrs. Wright, "a messenger came to the Mission House to say that the white woman was dying and wanted to see the missionary's wife. I went at once to the little log house where she lived with her daughter Polly Shongo and her grandchildren, the fourth house on the road leading north from the mission house to the Sulphur Spring.

"The aged woman was lying on a bed of straw covered with blankets, and was evidently near her end. It was with some difficulty that she was roused and made to understand that the missionary's wife was there. Then she said: 'I am dying and I have a great trouble on my mind and wanted to see you. You know I was taken from my home when I was a little girl, and that night my mother told me that she should never see me again, but because the Indians had put moccasins on my feet she thought they would spare my life and she made me promise that I would never forget my name and that I would never for-

get the prayer she had taught me, but would repeat it every night and morning. I have never forgotten my name, and for very many years I remembered my mother's prayer, but I have seen so much trouble and sorrow and little by little I neglected my promise and for many years have forgotten my mother's prayer.

" 'Last night I lay awake so long, trying to remember it, but could only say, "Lord have mercy upon me." ' I told her that it was a good prayer but she answered, 'It is not the prayer my mother taught me.' Then I knelt by her side and repeated the Lord's Prayer and as I did so, the tears rolled down her wrinkled cheeks and she said, 'That is my mother's prayer.' The next day she died."

The White Woman was buried near the southerly side of the old Indian burying ground, beneath a large black walnut tree, which still remains at the Seneca Indian Park between Buffum street and the Indian Church road.

In 1872 the old Caneadea Council House was, for its better preservation, removed by Hon. William Pryor Letchworth to Glen Iris and erected timber by timber on the high plateau overlooking that charmed spot.

Some of the White Woman's descendants asked that her remains might be brought to Glen Iris and re-interred beside the old Council House, and having Mr. Letchworth's consent, in the early days of March, 1874, Doctor James Shongo from the Allegheny reservation, a grandson of Mary Jemison, superintended the removal of her remains, using scrupulous care in so doing.

Her bones were found to be well preserved, as were the garments she had worn, though the wooden coffin was almost wholly decayed. The hair upon her head was gray, but beneath it at the neck were some delicate curls of yellow hair.

The remains were placed in a suitable casket and having been taken by her grandson to Glen Iris, on Thursday, March 7th, 1874, a simple but touching service of

Scripture reading, of brief historic reminiscence and of prayer, was held and the casket was then placed in a stone coffin, its parts securely cemented and these were buried a short distance north of the old Council House, in which the child mother had rested on her toilsome journey from the Ohio to the Genesee.

Mr. Letchworth wrote at that time as follows: "At the close of the ceremonies which took place at the re-interment on the Genesee, the coffin was opened and Doctor Shongo took therefrom a lock of hair from the head of his deceased relative."

This lock of hair was given by Doctor Shongo to Mr. Letchworth who treasured it for many years, when he gave it to me, and I then presented it to the Buffalo Historical Society, in whose historic collections it now remains.

Soon after this re-interment Mr. Letchworth placed a square white marble monument over the White Woman's grave with the inscription on its face which I prepared at his request:

To the
Memory of
MARY JEMISON

Whose home, during more than seventy years of a life of strange vicissitudes, was among the Senecas, upon the banks of this river, and whose history, inseparably connected with that of this valley, has caused her to be known as The White Woman of the Genesee.

In 1910, Mr. Letchworth placed upon this monument a beautiful, life-sized bronze statue of the White Woman, showing her with her babe upon her back as she made the journey up the Ohio and down the Genesee trails.

Close by her grave stands a black-walnut tree planted by her grandson Thomas Jemison, at the time of the Glen Iris Council, October 1st, 1872, this scion having been grown from one of the nuts from the older tree which shadowed her grave at the Buffalo Creek Mission burying-ground.

THE LINCOLN RELICS

No account of the museum of this Society is adequate without some mention of the Lincoln relics. These are of considerable variety and value, and have come from many sources; but by far the greater part of the collection was formed, during and just after the Civil War, by Mr. Julius E. Francis. A room in the Historical Building is set apart for the Lincoln relics, along with a few other things pertaining to the Civil War. The walls are hung with thirty or more Lincoln portraits and groups, some of them being choice engravings—the nucleus of a fine collection. Many of these engravings were gathered by Mr. William A. Galpin. One of the portraits is framed in rough oak, said to be made from a rail split by Lincoln in his youth. We cannot vouch for this. But here is his walking stick, of certified history. And here, among many other things pertaining to the Emancipator, is a death mask and casts of his large strong hands. In the library are preserved a few Lincoln manuscripts.

But it is the Francis collection which best deserves notice, for with it is involved not a little of Buffalo history of Civil War days. In 1887 the Historical Society issued a pamphlet devoted to Mr. Francis and his Lincoln enthusiasms. Many years ago some account of his collection appeared in volume five of these Publications. But a new generation has come on the stage, the personnel of the Society membership has greatly changed, and it appears desirable once more to record here the essential facts bearing on our Lincoln relics.

The most notable single object possessed by the Society is a bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln, that occu-

pies a conspicuous place in the marble-pillared central court of the Historical Building. The figure, somewhat more than life size, is seated, one leg across the other in characteristic attitude; a document is in the hands. The countenance, looking straight ahead, is full of the ruggedness and the sadness of the great original. From an artistic viewpoint, it is a most satisfactory statue; the work of the sculptor Niehaus, and a replica (but for a few minor details) of the Lincoln statue by that artist at Muskegon, Mich. Effectively placed on its black marble pedestal, it seems to pervade the whole court with a memorial atmosphere. Indeed, as may be mentioned here with propriety, the Historical Society purposes ultimately to make this central court wholly a memorial hall, removing all incongruous exhibits. Here, perhaps, when funds permit, may be set up a statue of President McKinley, whose association with the Historical Building is often recalled. Set about the walls are already numerous portrait busts of distinguished men of an earlier Buffalo. Here too are tablets to those eminent citizens of Buffalo who became Presidents of the United States—Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland. Each in his time was a member of the Historical Society, and Mr. Fillmore was its first president. One other beautiful tablet offers to all who will read, the Lincoln Gettysburg address. This tablet came to the Society from the estate of Miss M. Louise Wilkeson; but for the Lincoln statue, the Society, and the community which it represents are indebted to the patriotism and liberality of Julius E. Francis.

Mr. Francis was born in Wethersfield, Conn., Jan. 11, 1822. He came to Buffalo in 1835 and went to work for his brother, Daniel Francis, a maker of Britannia ware. In 1839, with Charles Coleman, he engaged in the drug business at what is now No. 348 Main street, and here he continued for over forty years, Mr. Coleman's

interest having been bought in 1856. In 1880 he removed to South Division street, and on Aug. 1, 1881, he died. He never married; but he took all the school children of Buffalo to his heart, and delighted in planning for them, and carrying out with them, entertainments of a patriotic character.

He was a hero worshipper, and Abraham Lincoln was his hero. During many years, and with much travel and outlay of money, he collected the articles which are embraced in the Lincoln Memorial collection, now the property of the Historical Society. It comprises three cases of relics of the Civil War, in which are contained battlefield relics from Gettysburg, Antietam, Bull Run, etc., with autographs of 10,322 soldiers and sailors who fought in the war; with their rank, regiment, date of enlistment, and discharge, including the battles in which they were engaged; also 1500 autographs of members of the Forty-third Congress, etc., U. S. Supreme Court Judges and other prominent Government officials; also two volumes, containing a complete collection (1400) of the illustrated envelopes used during the war, with complete bound copies of the *New York Times, Harper's Weekly,* and other papers; scrap-books and histories of the war, Adjutant-General's reports, etc. In the collection of these relics Mr. Francis visited the battlefields and attended various meetings of veterans. He began the collection of relics in 1861 and was engaged five years in completing the "Autograph Memorial" volume.

"The Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Case" (No. 1) contains 76 battlefield trophies, numbered from 1 to 76, and handsomely mounted; also 127 volumes. This case was dedicated May 3, 1872, at the Grosvenor Library, Millard Millmore presiding.

Case No. 2 contains the autograph memorials already mentioned, and—with much other interesting war material—a copy of the original memorial to the Forty-

third Congress to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday. This case is in itself a curiosity, and is a work of art. It was built at a cost of $1,500, and made from historic woods, the following being a description of the woods inlaid in the case: Left pilaster, 13 stars, oak and pine, Faneuil Hall. Right pilaster, 34 stars, oak, Independence Hall. Upper flag, 50 stars, original California tree. Two Memorials, Charter Oak, Independence Hall and Frigate *Constitution.* Four small shields, ornamenting the Memorial of 50 citizens of Buffalo to the Forty-third Congress to make Abraham Lincoln's birthday a national holiday, oak, Independence Hall and *"Old Ironsides."* Top shield, oak, Independence Hall, pine, Faneuil Hall and California wood. Six stars on sides of case, hemlock, Old South Church, Boston, built 1669. This case was dedicated April 9 and 10, 1876, exercises being held at the Unitarian Church, Hon. James Sheldon presiding. Letters expressing sympathetic interest were read from Henry W. Longfellow, John G. Whittier, George William Curtis, William Cullen Bryant, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Wendell Phillips; and many of Buffalo's citizens shared in the exercises. A third case contains miscellaneous relics.

In addition to the work of collecting the relics to form this Memorial, Mr. Francis organized the Lincoln Birthday Association. A memorial to the Forty-third Congress was prepared, and signed by 50 citizens of Buffalo, to establish the 12th of February a legal holiday. It was drawn on parchment, backed with blue silk, with 50 white stars, and fine needlework border, inserted in a folding case of French walnut, and enclosed in Russia leather case. It was introduced in the House of Representatives by Hon. Lyman K. Bass, on the 18th of December, 1873, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, who made an adverse report, May 25, 1874. This action did not, however, discourage its originator, who also

formed the Alternate Lincoln Birthday Association, composed of young men from the public schools. An "alternate memorial" was also sent to the Forty-third Congress, signed by 50 young men, which was a copy of the original Memorial.

The original Lincoln Birthday Association was incorporated Dec. 24, 1877, with the following trustees: P. P. Pratt, F. L. Danforth, J. R. Brownell, J. P. Dudley, O. P. Ramsdell, J. E. Francis, W. C. Francis, S. C. Adams, and George Meacham.

The first public celebration of Lincoln's birthday took place Feb. 12, 1874, at St. James Hall, Buffalo, and that date was observed each year thereafter during the life of Mr. Francis. It was his pleasure to furnish the halls, the music, both instrumental and vocal (the latter generally being the Liedertafel Society, or other organizations), all at his own expense. He persevered in securing the services of orators for addresses, and also essays and poems written by interested friends. The celebrations were free to all, and a crowded house was always the result. The entertainments were held both afternoon and evening. In addition to this, he issued each year 60,000 beautifully-engraved cards, which were presented to each pupil in the public schools, and sent to Government officials, and others. He also obtained permission to visit the public schools, and arranged with them, through the Superintendent of Education, for appropriate exercises on the 12th of each February. It has been ascertained from the books of Mr. Francis that he expended $20,000 in this work from 1863 to 1881.

In his last will, Mr. Francis bequeathed to the trustees of the Lincoln Birthday Association his collection of relics, books and documents, and a considerable fund, which included all of his estate except bequests to relatives. By 1900 this fund had become about $10,000. The trustees of the association at that time were: Joseph

P. Dudley, president; G. Barrett Rich, vice-president; Frederick W. Danforth, secretary and treasurer; and James Ash, William E. Danforth, George Meacham, Guilford R. Francis, Frank L. Danforth, and C. Townsend Wilson. The building plans of the Historical Society having taken final shape, the Lincoln Birthday Association voted to use the greater part of the available fund for a statue of Lincoln, if it might be placed in the central hall of the building. Committees of the two organizations (Messrs. Dudley, Rich and Frederick W. Danforth for the Lincoln Birthday Association, Messrs. Langdon, Hill and Severance for the Historical Society) completed the arrangements; and a contract was agreed upon, whereby the Historical Society assumed the care and preservation of the Lincoln statue and the Francis memorial collections. The statue, after the model by Niehaus, was cast in bronze by the Gorham Mfg. Co.; and suitably placed on a black marble pedestal, the gift of the Lautz Co. of Buffalo, just prior to the opening of its building to the public by the Historical Society in June, 1902.

THE FENIAN RAID OF '66

A large green silk flag, very handsome in its day, now faded, tattered and torn, is one of the treasures of the Historical Society that tells a story.

It is a souvenir of the Fenian raid from Buffalo into Canada in 1866. It was made by the Fenian Sisterhood, a group of women in Buffalo who sympathized with "the cause"; and it was presented by them to the Seventh Fenian Regiment in Buffalo, May 6, 1866. Devotion to the cause of which it is the emblem must have been deep and genuine, for it led the ladies into considerable work and expenditure. The banner, nine feet by six, is of fine dark green silk with heavy gold fringe, and is said to have cost $250. In the upper left hand corner is a painted sunburst,[1] and the inscription: "Buffalo 7th Regiment, Irish Army of Liberation." In the body of the flag are the words: "Presented by the Fenian Sisterhood of Buffalo, May 6, 1866." At the left and below one reads: "Ridgeway and Fort Erie, June 2, 1866." This last, obviously, was added at a later date. A critical student of the episode might ask, "Why 'Buffalo 7th Regiment'? What of the preceding six?" We find no record of their organization or their exploits. But that signifies nothing. Indeed, such an inquiry throws an unwarranted shadow of doubt over the bright achievements of whatever regiment, or fractions of regiment, there may have been. Here is proof that in the Fenian army of 1866 there was —or provision was made for—a Seventh Regiment. Where the rest of the army was, or whether it was at all, is not

1 The sunburst was an accepted emblem of the Brotherhood. In their operations at this period they used three flags: the Stars and Stripes, the green flag with the Irish harp, and the green flag with the sunburst. The *Fenian Volunteer*, the weekly paper which Patrick O'Day started in Buffalo in 1867, had an elaborate engraved heading which showed all three of these flags.

to the point. It is no more necessary to account for six other regiments than it is, let us say, to account for vast numbers of street cars in Buffalo, just because all that are (intermittently) visible are mostly numbered up in the thousands.

This beautiful banner, then, of the Irish Army of Liberation, was made as aforesaid, by the Misses Ann and Maria Cruice, and other devoted ladies of the Sisterhood; and on Sunday evening, May 6, 1866, at the home of a Mr. Gallagher, at Sixth street (now Front avenue) and Carolina street, it was presented to the Fenian Brotherhood. No account is found, in the local press of the time, of the presentation ceremonies. We may safely assume that they were enthusiastic. That the flag fell into appreciative hands, is certain. When, a little later, the invasion of Canada was undertaken from Buffalo, the color-bearer crossed the Niagara river on a scow (according to one witness, on a canal-boat), and shared in all the incidents of the campaign. One would think that so glorious a banner would have been guarded as jealously as life itself; but strange to say, when the forces finally marched for the field of action, near Ridgeway, the green and gold flag was missing. Through an excess of devotion, no doubt, one patriot had purloined it, detached it from its staff, and wound its silken folds about his body, under his clothing. When the colors were found to be missing, all the men were lined up and searched—and the flag was found. Later, 'tis said, it was in the possession of a representative of the United States Government—captured and retained, possibly, by the United States consul at Fort Erie. History is here and there inadequate as to its fortunes; but certain it is that some three months later Daniel Cruice, the doughty blacksmith brother of Ann and Maria, had possession of it, finally giving it to his sister Maria. (The Buffalo Directory of the time does not list the name "Cruice," though it has "Cruse" and

"Cruise.") Maria Cruice became Mrs. James McElroy, and retained possession of the flag until her death in March, 1902. In December following, Mr. McElroy presented it to the Historical Society, at a Sunday afternoon meeting, Mr. D. E. Mahoney sharing in the presentation exercises. To him we are indebted for some of the foregoing incidents. The late Andrew Langdon, then president of the Society, accepted this truly historic relic, which has since been preserved in the museum of the Society.

The flag bears evidence of its baptism of fire, being riddled and torn in its most splendid portion—the sunburst—presumably by British bullets. It is said to have been carried into action, at the head of the invaders, at the battle of Ridgeway. There were in all some seven or eight flags carried by the Fenians, most of them green with the harp emblem.

All in all, it was a curious episode—one of the most singular in the long story of a frontier by no means devoid of singular episodes. More than half a century has elapsed since this handful of men—some Irish patriots, more, no doubt, mere adventurers—invaded Canada. Could anything have been more fatuous, more grotesquely doomed to failure! Without formidable force of any kind—either of men, munitions, supplies, organization, leadership, or public sympathy, a few hundred soldiers of fortune threw themselves in hostile fashion into the enemy's territory (for so they dominated Canada), where they were received by a more or less trained soldiery, backed and sustained by the ample resources of an entirely capable Government.

They invaded Canada without public sympathy behind them in the United States; for while there were here many who sympathized, more or less openly, with the cause of Ireland, very few of those sympathizers were so deluded as to see any possibility of success in the attempt,

and many were too loyal to the Government of this republic to sanction or seek to condone the illegal and hostile demonstration against a neighboring Government with which we were at peace.

The entire story of Fenianism is a record of ineptitudes; of costly and laborious organization, conceived in secrecy and shrouded in mystery, which was no sooner achieved than it vanished, with nothing to show as fruit of all its travail.

In Ireland, Fenianism was the successor, if not the direct outgrowth, of the Phœnix clubs. "This is a serious business now," said a clever English literary man when he heard of the Fenian organization; "the Irish have got hold of a good name this time; the Fenians will last." The Fenians are said to have been the ancient Irish militia. "There was an air of Celtic antiquity and of mystery about the name of Fenian." To summarize further from Justin McCarthy,[1] by no means a hostile witness, the Fenian agitation, which began about 1858, and came to perfection about the middle of the American Civil War, "was ingeniously arranged on a system by which all authority converged towards one center (the Head Center), and those farthest away from the seat of direction knew proportionately less and less about the nature of the plans. A convention was held in America, and the Fenian Association was resolved into a regular organized institution. A provisional government was established in the neighborhood of Union Square, New York, with all the array and the mechanism of an actual working administration." All friends of Ireland in America were levied on for funds; generous contributions, most of which came from those who could ill afford to give, were used to "promote the cause" by men who apparently had no other source of income, and who were far from scrupulous in accounting for what came into

[1] History of Our Own Times, iv, chap. 53.

their hands. Large numbers of Irish-Americans who had served in the Civil War, were counted on as available for an army of invasion of Canada. James Stephens, perhaps the chief leader of the movement in Ireland, was arrested and committed to Richmond prison, Dublin, early in November, 1865. He made a daring escape, and soon appeared in America. But the Fenians, instead of uniting under his leadership, split into two factions. One was for an organization to operate in Ireland. The other urged an invasion of Canada. In Ireland, there followed a period of unorganized outlawry, some murders, the destruction of some property, followed by arrests, imprisonments, and banishments. In America, the idea of Canadian invasion appealed to many, especially to Irish-American soldiers but recently mustered out of service, but not yet settled in occupations of peace, and ready for any adventure. Quantities of munitions were gathered and stored at border points from Buffalo to Vermont.

At Buffalo, in May, 1866, there gathered several hundred men, mostly ex-soldiers. Their leader, twenty-five years old, was Major General John O'Neill, later president of the Fenian Brotherhood. He came to Buffalo from Nashville, but had served in the Union army, gaining the rank of captain.

The main facts, relating to the invasion of Canada from Buffalo, may be briefly related.

For some days, in the latter part of May, 1866, an unusual number of men were observed to be arriving in Buffalo. They came in bands and squads of varying size, mostly from the south and west. When questioned, they replied that they were going to Canada to work on railroads; or, in some cases, that they were former soldiers, bound for California—hardly a convincing answer, when they arrived here, as many did, from Cleveland, Cincinnati, even from Indiana and Illinois. Some were from

Kentucky. They were not uniformed. They made no disturbance, and at night many of them found shelter in old Dudley Hall, at Main and Quay street—torn down when the Lehigh Valley passenger station was built—and at Townsend Hall, at Main and Swan streets, now the site of the Manufacturers and Traders Bank.

On the night of May 31st, these strangers, still with no show of organization, made their way to lower Black Rock, as did also a large number of townspeople, curious to see what would happen. Finally, from the vicinity of Pratt's furnace, several hundred crowded on to scows, or canal-boats, and were towed across the Niagara, landing about a mile below Fort Erie village. Here, amid much shouting and noisy enthusiasm, with no attempt at concealment, arms were distributed and pickets sent out. The leader, O'Neill, variously styled "Colonel" and "General," in command of the expedition, ordered Dr. Kempson, reeve of Ft. Erie, to furnish rations at once for a thousand men. One can but wonder what would have happened had the reeve refused the demand; but he did not; he summoned the village council and arrangements were made to provide the food. In spite of this, there was some raiding of hen-roosts and pig-pens. Many horses were seized from the farmers. The main body of the "troops" moved down to Frenchman's Creek and encamped—more accurately, bivouacked, for they had no camp outfit. A small force followed the line of the Grand Trunk Railway towards Port Colborne. The destruction, or impairment, of the Welland Canal was supposed to be one of the purposes of the expedition. Shortly before midnight of June 1st, General O'Neill receiving information that Colonel Peacock of her Majesty's army, with a force of Royal Artillery, infantry, and Canadian volunteers, was at Chippewa, fifteen miles north of his camp, decided to leave his position and march towards Port Colborne. His force was constantly growing smaller, by

desertion. A liberal estimate of the number of invaders is 900. By the morning of June 2nd, when the Fenians met the enemy in what is known as the battle of Limestone Hill, near Ridgeway, there were probably not more than 500. Opposed to them were the Queen's Own Volunteer Regiment of Toronto, and the 13th battalion of Hamilton militia. There ensued about two hours of fighting the Fenians using the country fences for barricades. In the end, after some bloodshed, and some temporary advantage, the Fenians "beat it" for Fort Erie. O'Neill's official report with much detail, tells how "we had met and defeated the enemy," but finding themselves still opposed by 1400 men, with Peacock's column coming up from Chippewa, and another troop of unknown strength coming down from Port Colborne, the Fenian position was too critical to maintain. It was particularly ticklish for a detachment of Fenians who under Colonel Starr had taken possession of old Fort Erie, above the village, and had there raised the Irish flag over the ruins. O'Neill's report says:

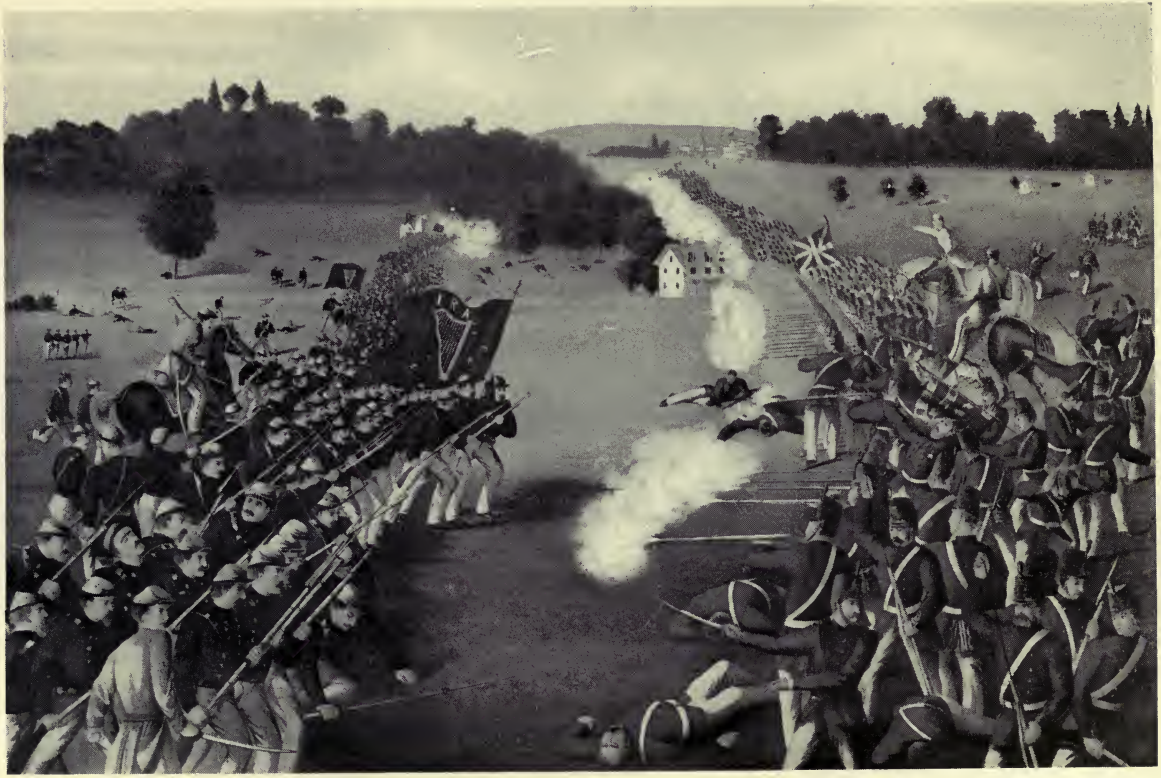
"About 6 o'clock a. m. [June 2nd] I sent word to Captain Hynes and our friends in Buffalo, that the enemy could surround us before morning with 5000 men fully provided with artillery, and that my little command, which had by this time considerably decreased, could not hold out long; but that if a movement was going on elsewhere, I was perfectly willing to make the old fort a slaughter-pen, which I knew it would be the next day if I remained. *For I would never have surrendered.*"

Happily, there was no occasion to make the old fort a slaughter-pen. The better strategy lay in getting "safely on board a large scow attached to a tug-boat," only a few wounded and dead being left behind. No sooner was the army towed into American waters than it was stopped and compelled to surrender to the U. S. steamer *Michigan*. The officers were taken on board the gunboat, the men were kept on the scow (according to O'Neill's report) for

four days, under conditions not the pleasantest. They were finally discharged on their own recognizance to appear at Canandaigua, June 19th, to answer to the charge of having violated the neutrality laws. The officers were admitted to bail. O'Neill was later liberated, and in 1870 led an abortive raid into Lower Canada. There are many phases of Fenian agitation in America which we do not attempt to touch upon here. One thing which they accomplished for Canada was to hasten the training of a useful force of citizen soldiery.

According to the Fenian leader's report, his force when they crossed the Niagara into Canada "did not exceed 600 men." He says the enemy were reported to him as about 1000 strong, of whom 30 were killed, 100 wounded and 45 taken prisoners. The Fenian loss in the fight at Ridgeway, and skirmish at Fort Erie, was reported as eight killed and fifteen wounded. "Among the killed was Lieut. E. R. Lonergan, a brave young officer, of Buffalo."

There is rarely to be found, nowadays, a colored lithograph of the Battle of Ridgeway. It was published by the Sage Sons & Co., of Buffalo, in 1869, copyright being in the names of Major C. Donohue and D. Egan, evidently Fenian sympathizers, for the picture records, as a subtitle states, the "desperate charge of the Fenians, under Col. O'Neill, near Ridgeway station, June 2, 1866, and total route [!] of the British troops, including the Queen's Own regiment under command of Col. Booker." The original lithograph is 21½ by 16 inches, and is gaudy with red, green and blue uniforms. As our reproduction inadequately shows, the artist's conception of the engagement was all his own. The Fenians, at the left, are evidently in attack, in close formation. The British, in still closer formation, are just on the verge of their "total route." In their rear, it will be observed, the retreat has already begun. Signs of carnage are abundant, and three Irish flags flutter in the breeze. In the original, the Fenian



"DESPERATE CHARGE OF THE FENIANS" IN THE BATTLE OF RIDGEWAY, JUNE 2, 1866.
FROM A COLORED LITHOGRAPH PUBLISHED IN BUFFALO, 1869.

phalanx is clad in green jackets and blue trousers, and they all wear the service cap of the Civil War.

There is one chapter in the story of the Fenian raid on Canada which does not appear in the books. At least the present compiler has not found it, except as told by a participant, years after, in a well-written narrative printed in the Buffalo *Courier,* May 29, 1893. At that time, according to the writer, he was the only survivor in Buffalo of the incidents he related. His identity was not disclosed, but a brief introduction to his story stated that the writer "is one who not only holds a political office, but is prominent in the ranks of the Grand Army of the Republic." No doubt many readers at that time found this sufficient identification. The narrative, somewhat abridged, is worthy of preservation here.

"The Second New York Mounted Rifles [says our veteran raider] were organized in Buffalo late in the summer of 1862. Most of the boys who joined were from Erie and Niagara counties, though some hailed from farther east in the State. My brother and I got the fighting fever with the rest, and we joined, though I was only fifteen years old at the time. The regiment joined the Army of the Potomac, and was at Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and other hot battles where lots of us wished we hadn't come. There were forty of the company more hare-brained than the rest, and I was one of them. Five or six were of French descent, and the rest were Irish by birth or parentage. We were 'the Fenian Forty.' The French boys, myself included, were just as Irish as the rest; and when the regiment was mustered out in '66, we were in fine condition to fill up with enthusiasm for Fenianism, which was just beginning to be greatly agitated. The love of fresh excitement was as great as for the cause, and perhaps, as someone remarked at the time, we were Fenians because we still had our old army

jackets of blue with the most beautiful green binding and slashings on them.

"At any rate, we made our plans. We heard that a crossing was to be made by the main body of Fenians soon, and we determined to be the first of the aggressive forces. On the night of the 20th of May, 1866, the Fenian Forty, in the full uniform of the Second Mounted Rifles, armed to the teeth with guns and sabres, and all our old accoutrements, congregated at the foot of Genesee street. All had come alone by roundabout ways, and our gathering was secret.

"A dozen rowboats lay moored to the wharf. To whom they belonged we never knew. We silently manned them, muffled the oarlocks with our handkerchiefs, and without a sound pulled out into the river.

"We landed at Fort Erie, the first Fenian invaders. We pushed the boats out into the current to conceal the evidence of our landing, and started our raid.

"Our object was plain. We were to capture and hold, money, horses and stores for the army that was yet to come. For fear that our whereabouts might be discovered if we remained so nearly opposite Buffalo, we immediately marched up the lake shore about ten miles, and began operations. We scoured the Canadians' farms from the lake back into the country half a dozen miles, and the length of the territory covered reached from Fort Erie a dozen miles westward.

"In the first place, we captured enough horses for our own accommodation, and the farmers were obliged to furnish us all the food that we wanted for ourselves and our horses. We had had experience enough in the South to show us what should be captured in a raid like this. We harmed no one; there was no occasion for it. The 'Canucks' imagined, seeing our uniforms, that the United States had gone to war with Canada, and they made no resistance. We took money from the people only when

they had a superfluity of it; such cases however were quite frequent. We made one old miser give up $200, and that was a lot of money then. We got along finely with our enterprise. A good quantity of horses and fodder was hidden in some isolated barns, and we had several stands of muskets in readiness for the coming forces.

"Finally we exhausted the horse and provender supply and started down toward the river. This was about ten days after our landing at Fort Erie. As we were marching we were met by Mike Mahany, whom we had sent the day previous down toward the river on a scout. He told us of the disastrous battle of Limestone Ridge, where several of O'Neill's boys were killed and wounded, and that the forces on the other side of the river had been ordered by the Government to disperse to their homes. The United States gunboat *Michigan* was lying in the middle of the river protecting the comparatively small force of Fenians from the British troops and preserving peace.

"There was no use in going any further, and we decided that neither the Canadian authorities nor anybody else should ever have the satisfaction of knowing all the preparations we had made for an invasion that had proved a fiasco. We rode back to the western end of the territory which we had looted, gave back to the farmers what money we had taken, and further delighted them by telling them where they could find the 'borrowed' supplies, including the horses other than those we were riding. We restored all our remaining booty to its first owners. The fun was over, and we did not wish to profit by the misfortunes of these petty farmers. We rode down to Windmill Point, and I, being captain of the troop, ordered the horses set free. They scattered quickly, and no doubt galloped speedily home. We found fifteen rowboats at the beach.

"We had considerable quantities of bedding, including

many gay-colored spreads and comfortables. With these and some saplings we rigged the boats, and putting our Irish flag above my 'flagship,' we bade farewell to the land that we had wished to make the great 'Irish Republic.' What a motley navy it was! We felt somewhat comforted, however, for this culmination of affairs, because we knew we had done well. Had the other Fenians been as ready and bold as we, 200,000 armed men would have landed in Canada, and we would have won.

"We landed at Sturgeon Point,[2] south of Buffalo, up near the Tifft farm. We beached the boats and went singly and in pairs to our homes. No one saw us leave Genesee street, the night of our departure, and no one saw us land with our strangely-rigged boats at Sturgeon Point. I doubt if the Fenian 'generals' really knew the work we did for the cause. We never took the trouble to tell them."

There are one or two points about this narrative which invite questions. How could the troop operate for so many days, in so well settled a district, without drawing police or military opposition? How could these valiant troopers, returning from this warfare, refrain from telling of their singular exploits?

But, it seems, they flew the flag of the Irish Republic, if not on Canadian soil, at least on Lake Erie. This could not have been the flag preserved by the Historical Society.

The United States Government has been criticized, by Canadian writers, for taking no steps to stop the raid from Buffalo until it was all over. It is true, that no opposition was made to the departure of the Fenians, for Canada. On their return, they were intercepted by the U. S. steamer *Michigan*, and from that time on the hand of Government was effective. But before the raid, so vague were the rumors, so little was the public apprised

2 Apparently Stony Point is meant.

of what was brewing, that neither the Federal, State nor municipal authorities realized the need of action. In Canada there was exactly the same unreadiness. If the various militia bodies of the district had been more promptly advised and moved, the Fenians could readily have been prevented from landing at Fort Erie.

When the Buffalo *Express,* prior to the raid, published dispatches to the effect that a large Fenian force was about to gather at Buffalo, the more conservative *Commercial* somewhat scoffed at the sensational headlines —this in a day when big headlines really meant big news. For a day or two, until the Fenians began to pour into town, this paper continued its rather newsless reports in a scoffing and incredulous tone. Presently, as events developed, it became more impressed with the gravity of the situation.

On June 2d the *Commercial* said, editorially: "With the memory of the recent past action and sympathy of the Canadian people in behalf of the rebels still fresh in our minds, it is but natural that we should contemplate the present demonstration, and in fact, any demonstration which may be made, as a retributive visitation over which we have no tears to shed." This not very creditable remark recalled the numerous animosities of the Canadian press and people during the Civil War, but did not reflect the sentiment of representative citizens of Buffalo, who were less inclined to keep alive past bitternesses than to do what they could to hasten the establishment of cordial relations between the two countries.

As a matter of record, it may be well to include in this sketch the official orders which were issued by the Government regarding the operations of the Fenians at or near Buffalo. They will serve to correct many loose statements and unjust accusations against the United States authorities which have been made and which are occasion-

ally repeated by uninformed or unscrupulous writers or speakers.

It was obscurely stated in the *Express,* June 4th, that General Grant came to Buffalo, the day before, to make arrangements to check the disturbances. "On the arrival of the train bringing General Grant," says the *Express,* "he was waited upon at the Central depot yesterday, by U. S. District Attorney Dart and Mr. Blake, U. S. consul at Fort Erie. A private interview took place in one of the cars of the Lake Shore Railroad, and General Grant very plainly expressed his wishes in the matter, and immediately on hearing of the situation of affairs issued an order placing General Barry in command of all troops here for the protection of the frontier." We say the above was "obscurely stated," because it was printed in small type near the bottom of a column. No headline or editorial mentioned the coming of General Grant to Buffalo, nor was it mentioned at all, so far as has been discovered, in any other paper. If not an invention of an enterprising reporter, it was perhaps a confusion of Grant for Meade, who did come to Buffalo. The first official recognition of the Fenian disturbances here appears to have been the following orders from General Meade:

HEADQUARTERS, MILITARY DIVISION OF THE ATLANTIC.
BUFFALO, June 3, 1866.

BREVET MAJ. GEN. W. F. BARRY:

GENERAL—Orders will be sent you from Headquarters, Department of the East, assigning you to the command of the District of Ontario, extending from Erie, Pa., to Oswego, N. Y., both places included, with Headquarters at Buffalo. In advance of the orders and accompanying instructions I direct you to use the force at your command to preserve the neutrality by preventing the crossing of armed bodies; by cutting off reinforcements and supplies; by seizing all arms, ammunitions, etc., which you have reason to believe are destined to be used unlawfully, and in fine, taking all measures precautionary or otherwise to prevent violations of law. For this purpose you will move the forces at your command to such points as are threatened, and you shall employ

such tugs or vessels as can be procured for watching the river and lake shores, and taking all such measures as in your judgment the emergency requires.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE G. MEADE,

Maj. Gen. Commanding.

On assuming command at Buffalo General Barry issued the following order:

HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF ONTARIO,

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 3d, 1866.

General Orders No. 1.

The undersigned, having been assigned by Lieutenant General Grant, and by subsequent Orders from Headquarters Second Military Division of the Atlantic, and Department of the East, to the command of the Military Division of Ontario, hereby assumes the same. The District embraces the Northern District from Erie, Pa., to Oswego, N. Y., with headquarters at Buffalo, N. Y.

Officers commanding posts, or detached parties of United States troops, within the limits of the District, are directed to use their best exertions to preserve the neutrality, by preventing the crossing of armed bodies, or military supplies, by seizing all arms, munitions, etc., which there is good reason for believing are to be used unlawfully, and in general, by taking all measures, precautionary or otherwise, to prevent violation of law.

A field return of each separate command will, on receipt of this order, be forwarded to these headquarters, and regularly thereafter all the returns and reports required by army regulations.

WILLIAM F. BARRY,

Brevet Brig. Gen. U. S. A., Com.

On June 5th, James Speed, Attorney General of the United States, addressed the following order to district attorneys and marshals: "By direction of the President, you are hereby instructed to cause the arrest of all prominent, leading or conspicuous persons called 'Fenians,' who you may have probable cause to believe have been or may be guilty of violations of the neutrality laws of the United States."

When, on June 6th, President Johnson issued a proclamation (probably written by William H. Seward, his Secretary of State), warning all citizens of the possible consequences of sharing in unlawful expeditions, or of any violation of the laws of the United States or "the laws of nations," he was criticized by some for not issuing it sooner, and by others was commended, on the ground that any earlier recognition of Fenian projects would have driven them into secret methods difficult to detect and impossible to prevent without an elaborate movement of troops to every possible crossing along the northern frontier.

It was in the old Erie County Court House, where the Buffalo Public Library now stands, that John O'Neill, John Hoy, Owen Starr and other leaders were admitted to bail of $6,000 each. Col. O'Neill's sureties were Thomas Cruice, Michael Faley and James Ryan. After the bonds had been signed and acknowledged, U. S. Commissioner Parker told Col. O'Neill that he was discharged, and great clapping of hands ensued. "An individual in the room proposed three cheers for the Colonel," says the *Commercial's* report, June 7th, "and this was responded to in the most enthusiastic manner, the walls of the Court House fairly echoing with the loud huzzas." The Colonel was escorted to the Mansion House, which then had a balcony on the Main-street side. Here, in response to a clamorous crowd, he appeared, and said: "Gentlemen, you may not be aware that I am no speechmaker. The only kind of speeches I am accustomed to are such as are made from the cannon's mouth. Situated as I am at present, I can only advise you to retire to your homes, peacefully and in an orderly manner. Good-by." He left town in a few hours, for the East.

On June 8th General Barry issued the following:

HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF ONTARIO,
BUFFALO, N. Y., June 8, 1866.

In compliance with instructions from Major General Meade, in virtue of power vested in him by the President of the United States, the transportation over railroad, by water, or other mode of public conveyance, of any persons or material of war designed, or supposed to be designed, to violate the neutrality laws, is forbidden. The transmission over the telegraph wires of messages in cypher or otherwise, from Fenians, or in matters relating to Fenian movements, is also forbidden.

All persons are warned that any evasion, or disregard of these prohibitions, will be treated as aiding and abetting the violators of law.

Commanding officers of U. S. troops within the limits of this military district, will cause this order to be made public, and it is made their duty to see that it is promptly and vigorously enforced.

WM. F. BARRY,
Brev. Brig. Gen. U. S. A., Com'd'g.

A few days later he issued the following:

HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF ONTARIO,
BUFFALO, N. Y., June 12, 1866.

Authority having been given by Maj. Gen. Meade to furnish transportation, upon certain conditions, to all Fenians now assembled on the Northern Frontier who desire to return to their homes and are without the means of defraying their own expenses, public notice is hereby given of the fact. All such persons now in Buffalo or its vicinity who desire to avail themselves of this opportunity, and who will give their written parole to desist from any further attempt to invade Canada, and to return quietly to their homes, will be furnished immediate transportation.

WILLIAM F. BARRY,
Brev., Brig. U. S. A.. Commanding.

Curiously enough, reluctance was shown by the Fenians to accept this offer of travel as guests of the Government. Those who went were followed to the trains by their comrades and taunted with cowardice for going. What they expected to accomplish by remaining it is difficult to say.

The following modification of the order of the 12th was issued by Gen. Barry, June 13th:

HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF ONTARIO,
BUFFALO, N. Y., June 13, 1866.

The following regulations for the preservation of order, on the Northern Frontier, and the carrying into effect of the President's Proclamation of the 6th inst. having been established by Maj. Gen. Meade, are published for the information and guidance of all concerned:

First. The transportation toward the frontier of persons, arms, or munitions of war, destined to violate the laws of the United States as set forth in said Proclamation, by railway, steamboat, or express companies, by common carriers, or by individuals is hereby prohibited.

Second. The transmission of all messages in aid of or on business relating to the Fenian expedition, except the return of the men composing it to their homes, is hereby prohibited.

Third. Commanders of Districts are charged with the execution of this order within their respective commands and will station a sufficient force at all points on railroads, and sufficient guards on their trains to regulate transportation. They will be cautious not to interfere with the current business of these companies further than is absolutely necessary to enforce the foregoing requirements, unless a disposition should be shown to disobey or evade them.

To comply with the above orders, commanding officers of all separate posts and detached guards within the limits of this military District are directed to observe the utmost vigilance and circumspection. In the execution of the second and third provisions of Maj. Gen. Meade's instructions, they will be careful to exercise a sound discretion, so that the legitimate business of telegraph and transportation companies be not interfered with.

WILLIAM F. BARRY,
Brevt. Brig. Gen. U. S. A., Com'd'g.,

If the Americans were criticized in Canada for being slow with these precautionary measures, the Canadians might have been criticized for being hasty, at least in one instance. Several United States soldiers, discharged from service, who were *en route* through Canada for their homes in the West, were arrested in Hamilton, June 12th, and

their baggage seized. Capt. Howard, of the U. S. revenue service, was sent to Hamilton by General Barry, and on his representations the men were released and proceeded on their way. Incidents like this provoked heated comment in the press.

Major General Meade arrived in Buffalo, apparently for the second time, June 14th, and after consultation with General Barry, decided to provide transportation out of town for the Fenian strangers who were still here.[3] Before Gen. Meade left Buffalo, the following day, he was given a reception at the old Board of Trade rooms on Central Wharf.

Among an infinitude of incidents which have been misrepresented in connection with the raid from Buffalo, is that of the priest, the Rev. John McMahon, who was captured, carried to Toronto and confined in jail, until, the facts being ascertained, he was set free. His statement was as follows:

"I am parish priest of Anderson, Madison county, Indiana, I am 48 years old, and have been in America 25 years. I was on my way to Montreal, to look after a legacy left by my brother, who died there, when I got among the Fenians. Having arrived at Buffalo, I crossed over to Fort Erie in the progress of my journey, when they took me prisoner. They took my traveling bag from me, my vestments and cloak, and I was waiting to get them back when they compelled me to act as chaplain. When the battle was over I was called upon to hear the confession of the dying men and administer the rites to them. I bandaged the wounds of the injured, the British as well as the others, and did what I could to relieve the suffering. When the troops came to Fort Erie they

[3] During Gen. Meade's stay in Buffalo he was the guest of his friend Capt. E. P. Dorr, whose residence was at No. 161 Niagara street. It was perhaps at this time that General Meade gave to Capt. Dorr the watch which he had carried during the Civil War—the watch by which the battle of Gettysburg was fought and won!—and which is now one of the most prized possessions of the Historical Society.

took me prisoner, but I protest I was with the Fenians against my will. I was on my way to Montreal, and they made me stay with them. I have always opposed and preached against them."

These events of fifty-five years ago are still clear in the minds of many people in Buffalo and elsewhere on the Niagara frontier. Possibly some of them will read these pages, and be able to correct or add to this imperfect chronicle. The local press, during the excitement, impartially printed facts and rumors; contradicted one day what had appeared the day before, and in many ways, throughout the period of disturbance, made reports from which it is now difficult for the unprejudiced seeker for truth to construct a trustworthy record. The Fenians of Buffalo, for some time after the raid, continued to hold meetings characterized by hot-headed talk, apparently without molestation. Gradually the remnants of the "army" disappeared, and save for some trace of bitterness between residents of opposite sides of the Niagara, the affair passed from the thoughts of men. Six months later, in his second annual Message to Congress, President Johnson recalled the incident, in its international bearings, in these words:

On the 6th of June last, in violation of our neutrality laws, a military expedition and enterprise against the British North American colonies was projected and attempted to be carried on within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States. In obedience to the obligation imposed upon the Executive by the Constitution to see that the laws are faithfully executed, all citizens were warned by proclamation against taking part in or aiding such unlawful proceedings, and the proper civil, military, and naval officers were directed to take all necessary measures for the enforcement of the laws. The expedition failed, but it has not been without its painful consequences. Some of our citizens who, it was alleged, were engaged in the expedition were captured, and have been brought to trial as for a capital offense in the Province of Canada. Judgment and sentence of death have been pronounced against some, while others have

been acquitted. Fully believing in the maxim of government that severity of civil punishment for misguided persons who have engaged in revolutionary attempts which have disastrously failed is unsound and unwise, such representations have been made to the British Government in behalf of the convicted persons as, being sustained by an enlightened and humane judgment, will, it is hoped, induce in their cases an exercise of clemency and a judicious amnesty to all who were engaged in the movement. Counsel has been employed by the Government to defend citizens of the United States on trial for capital offenses in Canada, and a discontinuance of the prosecutions which were instituted in the courts of the United States against those who took part in the expedition has been directed.

I have regarded the expedition as not only political in its nature, but as also in a great measure foreign from the United States in its causes, character, and objects. The attempt was understood to be made in sympathy with an insurgent party in Ireland, and by striking at a British Province on this continent was designed to aid in obtaining redress for political grievances which, it was assumed, the people of Ireland had suffered at the hands of the British Government during a period of several centuries. The persons engaged in it were chiefly natives of that country, some of whom had, while others had not, become citizens of the United States under our general laws of naturalization. Complaints of misgovernment in Ireland continually engage the attention of the British nation, and so great an agitation is now prevailing in Ireland that the British Government have deemed it necessary to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* in that country. These circumstances must necessarily modify the opinion which we might otherwise have entertained in regard to an expedition expressly prohibited by our neutrality laws. So long as those laws remain upon our statute books they should be faithfully executed, and if they operate harshly, unjustly, or oppressively, Congress alone can apply the remedy by their modification or repeal.

Happily, no international complication followed the raid, nor of its successors elsewhere on the border. The pertinacious opposition of Ireland to British rule has continued unabated. It would be a rash person who would venture to predict the outcome of the struggle which in this year 1921 seems to hold out some promise

of political freedom for Ireland. In all the forms which that struggle has taken it would be hard to find a less fruitful one—one less productive of good for the cause of Irish nationalism—than was the quixotic raid the memory of which is kept fresh by this beautiful green and gold banner in the museum of the Buffalo Historical Society.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.—The Fenian invasion of Canada developed a considerable literature, the product however of Canadian writers far more than of those on this side of the border. Every English or Canadian writer of the history of the times, devotes some pages, chapters even, to the subject. Of greater interest are the narratives of participants in the affair. Major George T. Denison, Jr., commanding "the Governor General's body guard," Upper Canada, wrote a spirited and technically elaborate pamphlet, "The Fenian Raid on Fort Erie; with an account of the Battle of Ridgeway, June, 1866." This now scarce and valued work, published in Toronto the same year, contains plans, lists of casualties, official correspondence, etc. The author having conspicuously shared in the "campaign," gave to his record the desirable quality of a personal narrative.

Of perhaps even greater scarcity today is Alexander Somerville's "Narrative of the Fenian Invasion of Canada," with a map of the field of combat at Limestone Ridge, published at Hamilton, C. W., in 1866.

Still another chronicle, by a participant, is Charles Hunter's "Reminiscences of the Fenian Raid, 1866," contained in the publications of the Niagara (Ont.) Historical Society, 1920.

More elaborate is the work of Captain John A. Macdonald: "Troublous Times in Canada. A history of the Fenian raids of 1866 and 1870," published at Toronto, 1910. Capt Macdonald was a veteran of 1866 and 1870.

The account of the "Trials of the Fenian Prisoners at Toronto, who were captured at Fort Erie, C. W., in June, 1866, reported by George R. Gregg and E. P. Roden," a volume of 222 pages, was printed at Toronto in 1867.

Worthy of attention also is Barlow Cumberland's paper, "The Fenian Raid of 1866 and events on the Frontier," contained in the Proceedings and Transactions, Royal Society of Canada, 3d series, volume four, 1911. Mr. Cumberland served in the "10th Royals,"

a part of the "eastern wing" of British forces then defending the Niagara frontier.

Of chronicles emanating from the Fenian side, note should be made of the "Official Report of Gen. John O'Neill, President of the Fenian Brotherhood, on the attempt to invade Canada, May 25, 1870,.....also, a report of the battle of Ridgeway, Canada West." This was published in New York in 1870.

Probably the most notable Buffalo publication on the subject is a work of fiction, entitled "Ridgeway, an historical romance of the Fenian invasion of Canada," by "Scian Dubh." This pseudonym is understood to indicate James McCarroll, who published his romance in Buffalo in 1868.

To this incomplete list it is hardly necessary to add the local press, of the time. The student who turns to those excited and controversial pages will often be perplexed to discover the facts, so immersed are they in false reports and rumors.

Reference should also be made to a well-written chapter on the Fenian raid in John H. Thompson's "Jubilee History of Thorold," Ont., 1897-8; and to "The Fenian Movement," by C. L. King, in Colorado University Studies, vol. vi, No. 3.

THE ALLEGHENY STATE PARK

1. THE STORY OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT

By Hamilton Ward

The Allegheny State Park was created by Chapter 468 of the Laws of 1921, which took effect on the 18th day of January, 1921.

The measure was offered and furthered in the Senate by Senator DeHart H. Ames, of Franklinville, representing the Cattaraugus-Chautauqua District, and in the Assembly by the Hon. Joseph A. McGinnies, of Ripley, representing the Second District of Chautauqua County.

The Commission appointed to administer the Park under the Act were named by Governor Nathan L. Miller on the 1st day of June, 1921, and consisted of Albert T. Fancher, of Salamanca; Chauncey J. Hamlin, of Buffalo; George C. Diehl, of Buffalo; Frederick G. Kaiser, of Dunkirk, and Hamilton Ward, of Buffalo.

At the first meeting of the Commission, which was held in Salamanca, Mr. Fancher was elected chairman and Mr. Kaiser secretary.

The project was formally launched in Buffalo, on the eighth day of November, 1920, at a joint meeting of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences and the Erie County Society for the Protection of Birds, Fish and Game, held at the Hutchinson High School building, and presided over by Chauncey J. Hamlin. On motion of Hamilton Ward a committee was appointed by Mr. Hamlin for the purpose of promoting the creation of a State Park in Western New York. Mr. Ward briefly outlined the project, and Mr. James Brennan, president of the Erie County Society for the Protection of Birds, Fish

and Game, and Mr. James Savage, of Buffalo, also advocated it. The committee so appointed consisted of Hon. Henry W. Hill, Harry D. Kirkover, Richard H. Templeton, James Savage, Mrs. Eli T. Hosmer, and Hamilton Ward, of Buffalo, and the Hon. A. T. Fancher, of Salamanca, with the following *ex officio*: James C. Brennan, George C. Diehl, Fred G. Kaiser, Edward L. Koons, Joseph H. Morey, Mrs. Thomas Carpenter and Chauncey J. Hamlin.

A meeting of the committee followed and Hamilton Ward was elected chairman. Thereafter an investigation of various available lands was made by the committee, and the assistance of the New York State College of Forestry, located at Syracuse, was requested and received. During the summer the committee employed the services of Edward F. Brown, formerly connected with the Palisade Park Commission and the administration of the Palisade Park, to make a survey of the lands south of the Allegheny river in Cattaraugus county, and it was decided by the committee to locate the proposed park in the territory adjoining the Seneca Indian Reservation in Cattaraugus county and between that reservation and the Pennsylvania State line.

The reasons for the creation of the park and the selection of the particular lands were in brief as follows:

New York State had for many years a settled policy of State parks and forest preserves for recreational and conservation purposes. There already existed the Catskill Forest Preserve, the Adirondack Forest Preserve and the Thousand Island Park in the St. Lawrence, and the Palisade Interstate Park, under the control of a committee jointly appointed by the governors of New York and New Jersey. These various projects offered recreational opportunities to the people of Eastern New York, but were supported by the State at large. Western New York had nothing of the sort. In Western New York there existed the Ni-

agara Falls Reservation, a tract of a few acres surrounding the American side of Niagara Falls; and Letchworth Park, a small tract on the west side of the Genesee river, embracing the falls in that river between Portage and Mt. Morris; and a little strip of land about an artificial lake in Allegany county known as the Cuba Reservoir Reservation; but as these tracts were of very limited extent, and were created for special purposes, they did not afford the camping, hunting and recreational facilities provided for the people of Eastern New York. The urban population of Western New York has now reached the million mark, and the automobile, State road and improved railroad transportation have developed new habits and needs for out-of-door life. While there was accessible to Western New York the wonderful lake region extending east from the Genesee river, yet the lands about these lakes were highly developed and of too great value to be considered as a proper purchase. The committee was, therefore, limited in its selection to the tract of cut-over territory in Cattaraugus county lying on both sides of the Allegheny river.

This historic river enters the State at Portville in the southeastern corner of the county, and passes northward and westward, and then southward in a great bend to the southwestern corner of the county, where it enters the State of Pennsylvania. The river occupies a valley from a half mile to a mile in width, the western part of which is occupied as a reservation by the Seneca Indians. The altitude of the valley is from thirteen to fourteen hundred feet above the sea level. On either side of the valley the mountains rise abruptly to a height of one thousand feet, and these mountains are interspersed with living streams which flow to the river. Formerly the country had been a great lumber camp with a considerable population, but most of the original forest had been cut down and chemical companies were operating on the second and third

growth. While there was considerable land north of the river, and also east of the town of Carrollton available,

LOCATION OF ALLEGHENY STATE PARK

the committee finally decided to include in the initial measure only the lands lying south of the Indian reservation and between that reservation and the State line east of the Erie railroad tracks, which run from Carrollton to the State line in the town of Carrollton, and which include parts of the town of Carrollton, Great Valley, Salamanca, South Valley, Red House and Elko, being a compact territory of between 50,000 and 60,000 acres, and which contained less than a thousand population and little cultivated land or farm buildings and improvements.

The survey made by the State College of Forestry and by Mr. Brown, in addition to the practical knowledge possessed by the commission, indicated that this territory would speedily reforest itself, and even now is a natural game country. The many miles of streams all contain trout life and food and had long been famous as a fishing ground. Ruffled grouse, fox, woodcock, cotton-

tail rabbits and the fast vanishing snow-shoe rabbit were plenty, and bear and an occasional deer were to be found. One thousand acres of the land already had been acquired by the State for a wild-life station for the State College of Forestry; and included in the territory was a tract of 7,000 acres known as the Stone estate, and a tract of 13,000 acres owned and being worked by the Smith Chemical Company.

The average value of the lands embraced in the proposed park, exclusive of the scattered farms in the valleys, was about five dollars an acre. In the lumbering operations, which had gone on for years, many excellent roads and railroad grades had been constructed, and the country was full of abandoned houses and villages. It was, therefore, determined by the committee that these lands were suitable for State Park purposes; that they could be purchased cheaply; that they were generally accessible, and that their acquisition by the State would not only be profitable, but would not disturb settled conditions or interfere with either agriculture or industry.

The experience of the State in acquiring the Adirondack preserve and Palisade Park, and in the creation and operation of the Conservation Commission and the Palisade Park Commission, offered ample precedent and suggestion to the committee in formulating a policy that in their judgment would best serve the purposes in view. The lands administered by the Conservation Commission in the Adirondacks and elsewhere, and known as a part of the State Forest Preserve, were considerably limited in their public use by the provisions of the State Constitution prohibiting the cutting of timber, etc., while the Palisade Park Commission, which acquired title to the lands in the name of the Commission and not in the name of the State, were unable to avail themselves of the sovereign right of the State to appropriate lands and were thus greatly handicapped in their efforts to purchase the

necessary territory. It, therefore, seemed best to the committee to prepare a special Act authorizing the acquisition of the territory to form the proposed park by the State for park purposes and not as a part of the forest preserve, and to have a special unpaid commission whose sole duty would be to look after the Allegheny State Park work.

In reaching this conclusion the committee had the hearty co-operation of the Conservation Commission, and as a result the bill creating the park was drawn by Hamilton Ward and the Hon. Henry W. Hill, President of the Buffalo Historical Society; and after having been submitted to the Hon. A. T. Fancher was by him delivered to Senator Ames and Assemblyman McGinnies for introduction in the Legislature.

A majority of the committee, headed by Senator Fancher, attended at a joint hearing of the Senate and Assembly in Albany, and before Governor Miller, where the purposes and advantages of the proposed park were explained. All of the senators and members of Assembly from Western New York heartily favored the project. Great difficulty, however, was encountered on account of the financial condition of the State, and it was only through the exercise of the great personal influence of Senator Fancher and Mr. Hamlin and the tireless and unceasing effort of Senator Ames and Assemblyman McGinnies that the bill became a law.

It was proposed to make an initial appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars, but the financial powers of the State declined to do this, and while the bill vesting power in the committee to appropriate land and administer the park was finally passed, the appropriation was cut down to twenty-five thousand dollars, and this was only made available upon the raising by the commission of a like amount.

Upon the passage of the bill and the appointment of

the commission the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars was raised in Salamanca and Buffalo, and the commission commenced to function. A contract was made for the purchase of 7,000 acres of land at four and one-half dollars an acre, and a community camp was opened under the auspices of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences. During the summer season of 1921 thousands of people visited the park area, and during the months of July, August and September many people in Western New York camped on the lands acquired by the commission, for periods ranging from one day to several weeks.

Under the auspices of the State College of Forestry, a survey of the park possibilities has been made, maps drawn, roads and trails indicated, and the Allegheny State Park is now a living reality. The Park was formally opened on July 30th, several thousand people being in attendance.

Mr. Fancher has given his personal attention to the administration of the Park through the whole summer, and at a small expenditure old trails and road-beds have been opened, camp sites have been cleared out, tents erected, a swimming pond established, and many of the old buildings salvaged and turned into the permanent use of the commission for administration buildings and hunting lodges.

The whole area is now under observation for the purpose of fire protection. In the meantime the State of Pennsylvania and the Federal Government have become interested in the acquisition of further territory south of the Pennsylvania line and adjoining the proposed park, and within a few years the Allegheny State Park will be a gateway to a great forest—saved for the people and devoted to their use.

II. THE PARK REGION IN HISTORY

By Charles E. Congdon, Salamanca, N. Y.

Visitors to the country of the Allegheny State Park can hardly fail to become interested in the settlements of the Indians scattered along the Allegheny River from Corydon to Vandalia. A short description of the locality and a brief history of its inhabitants may answer many of the questions which a stranger to the vicinity would ask.

The Jesuit Relations, Morgan's "League of the Iroquois," Schoolcraft's volumes and other works, make occasional references to the Seneca settlements here. The report of A. T. Cheney to the State Regents in 1859, and "Ancient Man," by the late Dr. Larkin of Randolph, give more local details, but little has been published about the Indians in this region, compared to the careful accounts of their settlements in the central part of the State. The early explorers tell only of the fact that they went from the Genesee river to the head-waters of the Ohio and that the Senecas had villages along the river.

In 1779, after the Revolution, Washington sent two expeditions against the Six Nations, one under General Sullivan, the account of which is well known, and one under Col. Brodhead, who came up the river to Warren and thence to Cornplanter's towns, which he found extending eight miles along the river from Gowango to Coldspring. He destroyed 500 acres of corn and burned 150 log houses. The dairy of Samuel Maclay, a commissioner sent by the State of Pennsylvania in 1790, to explore the route from the head-waters of the Susquehanna to the Allegheny, contains this entry: "Monday, July 5th. Set off in the morning [from some place near Vandalia], two Indians going with us in a canoe. About the middle of the afternoon we came to an Indian camp on shore, where they had whiskey, which they offered us. At this

camp we saw a Dutchman, who in the war had been taken prisoner and, it seemed, chose to continue with the Indians."

About 1794 the Society of Friends of Philadelphia sent representatives to establish a mission for the Senecas. Their first school was a farm bureau on land given them at Old Town, just above Onoville. Later they had a saw and grist mill on the river at Tunesassa. After the Reservation was surveyed in 1798, they moved to their present location on Quaker Run.

The Indians continue to call the river the Ohio in their own language, but we have changed the sound of the second vowel from the value the letter represented to the Frenchman who first used it. The descendants of Cornplanter still occupy the land patented to him by the State of Pennsylvania; and the descendants of Peter Crouse, the Dutchman mentioned by Samuel Maclay, held a re-union at Onoville September 16, 1911. They performed a series of tableaux representing the story of his life, which if made an annual event would rival the Green Bay Hiawatha celebrations.

The story of Peter Crouse's life was played in four acts, with music by the band and songs between the acts. The first scene showed the war canoe coming up the river and landing by the village. In the canoe were captured goods and a white boy twelve years of age. The warriors told in their own tongue what the war party had accomplished. They tied the boy to a tree and started the fire to burn him. A woman told how Washington's soldiers killed her son and asked for the boy in his place. Then they called a council and finally let the woman adopt the boy as her own. The next act showed the coming of an exiled witch and her daughter from the Onondagas. She claimed protection from the Senecas of her own clan and was received with gifts from Peter. Then came his courtship and marriage with the witch's daughter.

Act three presented Peter married, with his four boys and four girls. It must be his wife had been adopted, because their descendants are all Senecas. Then his own brothers, who had found out where he was, came to take him back to his former home, but he told them this was his home, his wife, his children, his land. His brothers went away. Then he acted as adviser to his Seneca friends and settled a dispute among them.

In the last act Peter was an old man, and a white man yet, with a long beard. He sat by the river where he had spent his life and saw a canoe go by. He called to the men in the boat. Then he went to sleep. Cornplanter, Red Jacket, Blacksnake and Handsome Lake appeared to him in his dream, and to the spectators in the flesh. There was some suggestion of disapproval of the teachings of Handsome Lake, and Peter went into his bark wigwam and closed the door, thereby drawing the curtain at the end.

The Quaker school is yet maintained and each day they write the day's events as a continuation of the journal they have preserved for nearly a hundred and thirty years. Cornplanter is buried on his own lands, best reached by a ferry below Corydon. A monument erected by the State of Pennsylvania marks his grave. The church and school house near it are for the use of his descendants. There is no place along the river better worth a visit. Peter Crouse lies in the Old Town cemetery. The chestnut grove used as a picnic ground, east of the river, just below the Onoville bridge, was the site of the Crouse celebration. Peter Crouse lived where Louis Hansen now welcomes the wayfarer.

Governor Blacksnake, who was the last chief under the tribal government, is buried by the school house at the mouth of Robinson Run, below Red House. A tablet or monument would make his grave a place of interest. He was a remarkable man and a great leader of his people.

The names and places which have been mentioned give a suggestion of the local history of the Indians. Their Reservation was surveyed in 1798 by Theodore Stoddard, pursuant to the Big Tree treaty. It commences at the State line and extends along the river to Vandalia, about thirty miles. The tract set off varies in width, but takes in most of the bottom land. It contains 30,469 acres. The angles in its boundary are marked by iron posts. The ultimate fee to this land is in the Ogden Land Company but the Indians have an unlimited right to possession. Much of the Reservation is unalloted land, belonging to the nation, but the cultivated and occupied portions are held under allotments to individuals which are supposed to be recorded in the books of the nation, and are transferred from one Indian to another with more or less formality.

The Seneca Nation is a republic, with its own constitution, laws, elections, officers and courts. They preserve their ancient language and use it almost exclusively among themselves. Perhaps half of them will admit they understand English. The rest understand if they want to. Their churches are partly supported by various denominations. Their schools are maintained by the State. A majority of them are called Christians, but a few still worship according to the old Indian way. These preserve the ancient tribal dances, feasts and ceremonies. They seek to drive away evil spirits with charms, incantations, drums, rattles, and false faces.

The census of 1920 gives the population of this reservation as 934. The majority are Senecas. Some are Cayugas, some Tuscaroras and a few of other tribes. In their manner of life they are about like other country people; some thrifty and industrious, some otherwise. They farm their land, work on the section gangs of the railroads, raise cattle and work at various trades. They receive in-

terest on tribal funds from the United States and annuities in cash and cotton cloth.

Most of the Indians under fifty years of age have received a fair education; these read and write English readily. Their own language is never written although there are a few books printed in the Seneca tongue. They have ten or twelve district schools and sometimes Indian girls have qualified as teachers. The Quaker school on Quaker Run and the Thomas Orphan Asylum at Versailles provide excellent training for those who are fortunate enough to attend them. Probably none of them are even approximately full bloods; many of the more progressive are the grandchildren or great grandchildren of Hollanders and Mohawk Dutchmen who married Seneca wives. All of them preserve many ancient traditions and customs. The clans of the wolf, bear, turtle and snipe are yet recognized although the rule of totems is often disregarded. Inheritance of tribal rights is through the mother. The son of a white man by a Seneca woman is a Seneca. The son of an Indian man by a white woman or a wife of the Cayuga tribe is not a Seneca and has no tribal rights among them.

There is a remarkable collection of Indian relics which is kept for exhibition by Priscilla Jimerson (Mrs. King Tandy) in her house at the mouth of Sawmill Run. There is a private collection of relics owned by Carl Haas of Salamanca which is probably the largest local collection in existence.

Many remains have been found in this vicinity of ancient settlements which some people have referred to the Mound Builders. The Bulletins published by the State Library give very interesting descriptions of Indian history and remains in general with some references to this locality. About two miles north of Little Valley on the road past the fair grounds is an ancient stockade, typically situated on a ridge between two ravines, about nine

hundred feet in circumference. Another is on the top of Miller Hill between Little Valley and Napoli. There is a large circular earth-work near Limestone; one on a hill next the river below Red House and others which are not so well known.

The ancient remains around Randolph and up the Conewango Valley have been quite thoroughly explored and described, but the writer is satisfied that any diligent archaeologist would discover many ancient earth-works and remains which have never been investigated. The tourist who comes to visit the Allegheny State Park will find much to interest him in the life and traditions of the Allegheny Reservation.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1921

FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 11, 1921

The fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building Tuesday evening, January 11, 1921. Captain Frank Hollister was called to the chair, and after the approval of the minutes of the last annual meeting, President Hill made his annual address, followed by the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer. A revised draft of the By-Laws was read. Due notice of the proposed revision having been given two weeks previously, and the alterations meeting the approval of the members present, the revised By-Laws were endorsed, approved and adopted.

President Hill's address follows:

Officers and Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In this history-making period, it is fortunate that this city has an institution whose "object is to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the history of Western New York in general," and the city of Buffalo in particular, otherwise much of the materials for such history, which are more or less fugitive, might disappear.

It is quite as important and as exacting to collate, classify and tabulate historical data as it is to teach history. This Society was not primarily founded for the latter purpose, though much historical instruction is imparted in its lecture courses and gleaned from its valuable collection of books, manuscripts, maps and other data relating to the Niagara Frontier. At no time since the Civil War has there been a more eventful period in the history of Buffalo than during the four years from

1917 to 1921, inclusive. Much of that has already been covered in prior publications, annual addresses and in other reports. Much has been accomplished by this Society to preserve the essential materials, out of which the local history of the period eventually may be written.

In a city of 505,875 population, with its many diversified activities, and readjusting itself to normal conditions after the Great War, in which many thousands of its man-power were engaged, including those in the military, aviation and auxiliary branches of the Federal service, events have crowded upon each other in rapid succession. On such an occasion as this it becomes a matter of enforced selection of a few from the many events that are of permanent value. As time goes on others may be added from sources not yet available to fill in the record fast being made from papers, letters, journals, biographies, books, documents and other memorabilia, which altogether constitute something of the groundwork of the local history of the period.

The activities of the Society during the past year included the collation, classification and indexing of much material of historical value. Material that otherwise would be merely fugitive, thus becomes permanent, and so the essentials of the city's history are preserved. The importance of this may be seen in the proceedings and the Society's Publications of the early history of Buffalo. Had not that been scrupulously collated, preserved and in some instances published by this Society, its founders and its friends, much that is now a matter of record, had been lost and the present generation would be ignorant of the history of this city with its rapid growth in a century from a village of a few thousand to a city of half a million population.

What were the causes of that growth? How much is due to its geographical location, its rail and water trans-

IN THE INDIAN ROOM, BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY MUSEUM.
SHOWING THE INDIAN BASKET COLLECTION PRESENTED BY MRS. FREDERICK H. STEVENS.

portation facilities, its industries, its commerce and the constructive energy of its people?

If to all these and to others, to what extent did each contribute to the result? To what extent did human agencies contribute to the result, and what were those agencies? To what extent is Buffalo's growth due to the tides of trade and travel, that have surged through its gates for a century? How much is due to the influx of peoples of this and other countries?

We will not undertake to answer these questions now, but merely propound them as indicative of what enters into the problems of historical research under the present day methods of inquiry. History is not merely a narration of events, a catalogue of ships, or a table of the Fifteen Decisive Battles of the world. To Lord Chesterfield, it appeared "only a confused heap of facts," and to Voltaire "only the register of crimes and misfortunes," but to Lord Macaulay, Viscount Bryce, and Professor Flinders Petrie it is a thrilling, illuminating revelation of the evolution of civilization, which no progressive nation can ignore and no enterprising community can afford to neglect.

The history of Babylon, Nineveh, Rome and London are essential parts of the history of the empires within which they were located. Fortunately for succeeding generations the librarians and rulers of Mesopotamia committed to clay cylinders and tablets so much of local history that the libraries of Babylon and Nineveh preserved those records through the centuries. The records of Rome are still more complete, and those of London run back a thousand years without a break, so systematically have they been kept. The history of those great cities comprises much more than a narration of the events occurring in them or a list of their rulers and of the wars in which their forces were engaged.

We think of them as great centers of influence af-

fecting the current of history and receiving from and contributing to it something of its vitality.

In a much lesser degree, Buffalo has been receiving from and contributing to the tides of trade and travel, passing through its gates for a century, and so it will continue on account of its geographical location, where the highways and waterways meet.

More railways lead to Buffalo than highways to Rome, and thousands of strangers pass through this city daily. Who shall say what they may leave or receive in their transit? Some of them tarry long enough to make a tour of the city and see something of its parks, well-shaded avenues, its Historical Building, Art Gallery, palatial residences and spacious commercial institutions. Others hasten on without seeing any of these but with the unfavorable impressions made upon them in the railroad sections of the city.

Now that the Great War is over, let us hope that the contemplated improvements may go forward and a new station at Main and Exchange streets may replace that at Exchange street. The new Lehigh Valley and Lackawanna passenger stations on Main street are artistic productions of which there are too few in this city. Most American cities are lacking in both private and public buildings of artistic design.

We need in this country municipal art commissions, empowered to pass upon the plans of all public buildings and upon those of private construction on the principal streets. Contrast the National Monument in the Piazza di Venezia in Rome, erected to Emmanuel II., with the national memorial to Lincoln in Washington, and the difference in the aesthetic ideals of the two nations is very apparent. Architecture is one of the fine arts and its exemplification in municipal buildings cannot fail to awaken a truer conception of the beautiful than is otherwise possible. Our cities need beautifying. This His-

torical Building and the Albright Art Gallery have done something to develop the aesthetic in the youth of this city. Other buildings may follow that will tend to further develop this fine art and beautify our city. Evidently there is a growing appreciation in this country of architectural beauty, and American cities are beginning to reveal this in municipal improvements.

This Society, however, directs its activities to the collection and preservation of such materials as may contribute to a better understanding of the history of Western New York and of Buffalo in particular. That history includes a record of its activities, its institutions and its people. It also includes any other matters that may affect it. We appeal to Buffalonians generally to make this institution the repository of all that relates to the history of this region.

Any survey, on this occasion, of the events of the year 1920 must necessarily be more or less fragmentary, and no attempt will be made to make it complete. This is not the time for an exhaustive review. A few matters, however, may be mentioned, which may tend to preserve them from being forgotten and especially so at a time when reconstruction is going on and all classes are absorbed in the problems of the hour.

SOCIAL UNREST

Following the Great War and in part as a result of the releasing of the military forces of this and other countries, general lawlessness prevailed in some of the great centers of population and Buffalo did not escape from the conditions existing in many parts of the country. In the second round-up of radicals, representatives of the Federal government arrested in Buffalo and vicinity on January 2nd, 1920, 136 men who were communists or belonged to the Communist Labor party. Only five of those arrested in Buffalo were citizens of the

United States. Federal agents had been working for several months to obtain such evidence as would leave no room for doubt as to the official connection of the leaders of these men with the Russian Soviet government. They had bound themselves by oath to work for the overthrow of the government. From time to time many other arrests were also made. That was disclosed in the investigation made by the Joint Legislative Committee.

The Department of Justice directed a nation-wide campaign and arrests were made in thirty or more cities of alleged radicals, many of whom were deported, as had been Emma Goldman and 248 other radicals in the ship *Bufford* on December 21st, 1919. That ship arrived at Hango in Finland on January 17th, and its passengers were transported by train to Russia.

Attorney General Palmer, on January 5th, 1920, urged upon Congress the enactment of a law that would enable the Department of Justice to deal forcibly, effectively and quickly with seditionists who were American citizens, seeking to destroy the Government. It was quite generally believed that all such radicals were communists or members of the Communist Labor party that was expelled from the Socialist party in 1919.

Proceedings for the deportation of all such radicals were instituted in many courts. Some military camps were used for the detention of such radicals until they were deported, most of them back to Russia but some to Poland. Thus was averted a nation-wide Bolsheviki movement that threatened the city, state and nation; but that did not prevent the wave of crime that swept the country in 1920. Buffalo suffered as never before from all kinds of criminals and the year will be known as one of unusual criminality.

BUFFALO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The annual dinner of the Chamber of Commerce occurred at the Iroquois Hotel on January 15th. It was addressed by Charles M. Schwab, manufacturer of steel; Thomas DeWitt Cuyler, chairman of the Association of Railway Executives, and Samuel B. Botsford, its retiring president. Mr. Botsford reviewed the work of the Chamber of Commerce during the preceding year and called particular attention to the period of unrest following the war and the efforts of the Chamber to cooperate with the City government in restoring matters to their normal condition. He paid public tribute to the intelligence, patriotism and devotion of the City and County officials and to the State and Federal officials resident in Buffalo. He remarked that more new industries had decided to locate in Buffalo than in any former year in its history. The largest was the British Dunlop Company, with its branch known as the Dunlop American Limited, which located on the river front, north of the city line.

At the annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, held on January 20th, Mr. Edward L. Koons was elected president for the ensuing year, and George C. Lehman was re-elected as its executive secretary. The work of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, as evidenced in the activities of its various committees, is recognized in local, state and national organizations. Through it, Buffalo is able to exert its uplifting influence on state and national legislation. It had much to do during the year 1920 and its services to the city and to its interests were manifold. Some of these will be apparent in what follows.

It has always taken an active part in all state and national movements to promote the rail and water-borne commerce in Buffalo.

LAKE AND CANAL COMMERCE, PORT OF BUFFALO, 1920

The ex-lake grain receipts at Buffalo for the year that is the navigation season for 1920 were 106,145,488 bushels, and if the flour be included as its equivalent of grain amounting to 22,552,040 bushels, the total grain receipts were 128,697,528 bushels. In 1919 the total grain receipts including flour were 120,250,902 bushels. The increase in 1920 over 1919 was 8,446,626 bushels. The receipts of ore were 8,005,242 tons, of lumber 10,786,372 feet, of shingles 35,611,000, of lath 1,000,000 packages, of stone 1,083,926 tons, of feed 206,670 sacks, of automobiles 37,853, and some other articles.

The exports from Buffalo up the lakes were 3,584,286 tons; of coal 18,050 tons, of barrels of salt 32,410, of barrels of sugar 23,410, of railroad iron 22,325 tons. Some merchandise was shipped up the lakes during the season.

The receipts by canal at Buffalo were 371,049 tons and the shipments from Buffalo were 208,670 tons. These included 4,110,214 bushels of grain of which 246,755 bushels were malt. Canal tonnage at Buffalo was less by 8,048 tons than it was in 1919, due to the falling off in sand, stone and gravel. The canal tonnage over the Erie canal during the season was 891,221 tons and over all the canals was 1,421,434 tons, an increase of 182,590 tons over the tonnage of 1919. The grain now in winter storage in elevators and in vessels is about 3,500,000 bushels.

Various causes have been assigned for the shrinkage in lake and canal tonnage during the years 1918, 1919 and 1920. Some of these causes were mentioned in our reports for the two former years. In addition thereto, it also appears that grain has been kept in storage in the West, as there has been less demand for it over seas.

During the last two or three years Federal control of the New York canals has not been as successful as was predicted. That has deterred the formation of private

companies to operate vessels on the canals and as a result the traffic has not increased to the extent it is expected that such traffic will increase when Federal operation ceases.

INDUSTRIES

For the first few months of the year 1920 there was but little slackening of industries below that of the last six months of 1919. As the year progressed, however, unemployment increased as factories in part or entirely closed down and threw thousands out of work. That was not an unexpected sequel to the slackening down of abnormal war activities, which Buffalo and other industrial centers are experiencing. During the war period the man-power of the farms was depleted as thousands left the farms and sought employment in factories and shops of all kinds in the industrial centers, that greatly reduced production of edibles and increased their cost. Until there be a return of farm help to the farms that condition may continue.

Buffalo has become a great industrial center and the growth in its outlying sections has been steady and healthful. That is likely to continue though temporarily checked as all industrial activities may be in periods of general depression.

COAL SHORTAGE

During the severe winter of 1920 there was a shortage of coal, which was felt in various parts of the country, including Western New York and Buffalo. The shortage was not entirely relieved during the summer and was keenly felt in November and December of 1920, causing much discomfort to many families in the city. Had there not been warm weather in October and November, there would have been much suffering in Buffalo, as well as in other localities in Western New York.

The Chamber of Commerce and other organizations

labored zealously to prevail upon railroads and dealers in coal to supply the city with such coal as was needed and their efforts greatly relieved the shortage.

LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION

At the special election held to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Ross Graves from the Senate in the 48th district, Captain Parton Swift was elected to fill that vacancy on February 3d, and served during the remainder of the term and was re-elected at the general election in 1920 for the senatorial term of two years. At the same election, Leonard W. H. Gibbs was re-elected to the Senate for his third term in the 50th district. Senator Samuel J. Ramsperger, after serving in the State Senate from 1899 to 1904, and also from 1907 to 1920, the longest service in the State Senate of any representative of Buffalo, failed of re-election in the 49th district in the Republican landslide of 1920. In his long service, he made many friends and accomplished much for this city.

Hon. William E. Martin, Republican, was elected Senator in the 49th senatorial district. Hon. George E. D. Brady, Hon. John W. Slacer, Hon. August Seelbach, Hon. Andrew I. Beasley, Hon. Ansley Borkowski, Hon. George H. Rowe, Hon. Herbert A. Zimmerman and Hon. Nelson W. Cheney were elected in the order named Assemblymen of the eight Assembly districts of Erie County. Most of them had theretofore served for several terms in the Assembly and were prominent members of that body.

SPANISH INFLUENZA

During the months of January, February and March, there was a recurrence of Spanish influenza in this city, but it was less destructive of life than that malady had been during the three preceding winters, when hundreds of Buffalonians succumbed to it.

MINOR TRANSACTIONS AND OCCURRENCES

On January 11th the Buffalo Jewish campaign was opened to raise funds for the relief of the Jews in Poland and the Ukraine. The sum of $64,835 was pledged or about 40 per cent of Buffalo's entire quota of $150,000 of the $35,000,000 to be raised. Three days later that fund was increased to $84,375. Rabbi Louis J. Kopald of Buffalo and Abba Hillard Silver of Cleveland, Ohio, were the principal speakers.

Buffalo Thrift Day Week Campaign began on January 17th and continued during the week with special Thrift programs for each day.

On February 4th, the Arlington Hotel on Exchange street, formerly owned by the late James W. McKay, was purchased by Duncan McLeod. Before the Arlington Hotel was built, there was conducted on the site, during the Civil War, the National Hotel, owned by a Frenchman whose name was LaRue.

One of the large real estate transactions of the year was the sale of the Peabody estate property at the corner of Main, Chippewa and Pearl streets, reported to have been purchased as a site for a new theatre.

On February 11th, the Belgian poet and dramatist, Maurice Maeterlinck, and Madame Maeterlinck were in the city a few hours. They were entertained by Mayor George S. Buck and the City Council at the Iroquois. Several invited guests were also present. Among other things the poet said: "From what I have been able to see in this short stay in your city, I feel sure that he (the Buffalonian whom I entertained at Nice a year ago) did not overestimate either its (Buffalo's) beauty or its greatness."

A freezing gale hit this city on February 15th and crippled street car and steam rail service. It continued for two days and into the third day and blockaded the

roads so that a milk famine was threatened, and people were unable to reach or leave the city over some roads for two days.

On February 21st, the Lawyer's Club was addressed by Alexander C. King, one of the prominent lawyers of Georgia, who pleaded for the settling of all disputes by judicial proceedings rather than by force of arms.

On February 23d, the University of Buffalo celebrated its University day. The speaker was President Edward A. Steiner of Grinnell College of Iowa, who admonished his audience to withstand the materialistic wave which was sweeping the world and to adhere to the conservative rather than to give way to the radical forces that tend to undermine our institutions. Chancellor Charles P. Norton announced gifts to the University amounting to more than $300,000. At the evening entertainment of the Alumni of the U. of B., Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, President of the Rochester Theological Seminary, was the speaker. He likened the world to a shipwreck, and admonished his hearers not to desert the wreck. The University Club celebrated its 25th anniversary on April 10th, when addresses were made by Hon. Job E. Hedges and Charles H. Moore of New York City.

During several months of the year the Knights of Columbus maintained schools on Main street, corner of Tupper street, for former service men, in which they taught subjects preparatory to professional courses and also combatted the fallacies of Bolshevism, Communism and Socialism. Later on June 30th, when the Commencement exercises occurred, 250 certificates were issued for proficiency in study. Bishop William Turner and Acting Mayor Arthur W. Kreinheder made addresses. The registration was upwards of 2,000. That school opened again on September 13th with a large attendance.

On February 24th, Dr. John A. Ryan of the Catholic University of Washington, addressed the faculty and

students of D'Youville College on some of the fallacies of the feminist movement, including its political, economic, intellectual and moral phases. On May 9th, the alumni of the College inaugurated their drive to raise a fund of $500,000.

On February 28th, Mr. Dexter P. Rumsey, chairman of the Buffalo Committee on the Near East Relief Fund, announced that $145,018.25 had been raised for the relief of suffering children.

On April 18th, the decision of the Public Service Commission went into effect allowing the Buffalo Railway Co. to increase its fare from five cents to seven cents. That decision was reached after much negotiation and prolonged litigation.

On April 19th, the Buffalo branch of the Zionists had raised $69,000 of the $75,000, Buffalo's quota out of the $10,000,000 to be raised in America.

In the world movement the Baptist churches in Erie County had raised on April 28th $210,000 out of their quota of $600,000.

During the same period of time the Episcopal churches had been conducting a nation-wide campaign and had succeeded in raising $1,436,975 in the Diocese of Western New York, which includes the city of Rochester and intervening parishes.

On May 7th, Buffalo welcomed 62 veterans of the Polish Legion on their return from the Great War. They were escorted to Lafayette Square where they were officially greeted by Dr. Francis E. Fronczak, James M. Rozan and Rev. Cezary Krzyzan and others.

On May 23d the Dom Polski celebrated its 15th anniversary.

On June 9th, the War Department presented through Mr. Edward L. Koons, President of the Chamber of Commerce, 33 certificates of honor to manufacturing

firms in this city and the Tonawandas for meritorious work during the war.

The 13th annual convention of the Northern Baptist denomination convened in Buffalo on June 23d, and continued in session for one week. It was attended by 5,000 or more delegates and many distinguished clergymen, prominent women and missionaries from China, India and Japan. The convention opened in the Broadway Auditorium, and other meetings were held in Baptist churches. One of the most prominent speakers was Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, retired President of Cornell University.

On July 8th, Raymond Bissell was appointed by President Wilson, Postmaster of Buffalo. He did not qualify, however, until the end of the month. He took office August 1st, and succeeded Charles F. Boine, who had been acting Postmaster for one year and fifteen days.

MARINE TRUST COMPANY.

The Marine Trust Company is the outgrowth of several business institutions. The Marine bank was organized in 1850 with a capital of $170,000. In 1897 it took over and liquidated the American Exchange bank. In 1903 it was converted into a national bank and took over the Buffalo Commercial bank. In 1913 the Columbia National bank was merged with the Marine National bank. In 1919 it was converted into a trust company and took over the Bankers Trust Company. On September 1st, the Bank of Buffalo, which commenced business in May, 1873, was merged with the Marine Trust Company, as was about that time the City Trust Company. The new institution has a capital stock of $10,000.000. Walter P. Cooke is chairman of the Board of Directors; John H. Lascelles is chairman of the Advisory Board, and Elliott C. McDougal, formerly president of the Bank of Buffalo, is president of the Marine Trust Company,

now one of the largest financial institutions in the country.

BUFFALO YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

It celebrated its fifteenth birthday anniversary November 1st, 1920. The seven branches and centers held open house and the City Administration building at 19 W. Mohawk street was the scene of the afternoon reception and tea and two pageants given by the International Institute and High School groups.

On November 1st, 1870, the Women's Christian Association of Buffalo was organized. The late Mrs. Emmor Haines was its first president and continued so for nineteen years. She was succeeded in 1888 by Mrs. John J. McWilliams. She in turn was succeeded by Mrs. Alfred G. Hauenstein in 1900, who served for three years. She was then succeeded by Mrs. John J. McWilliams. From 1907 until 1913 Mrs. Mary Prentiss was president. She was succeeded by Mrs. G. Barrett Rich, Jr., and she was succeeded by Mrs. Horace Reed and she in turn was succedeed in 1920 by Mrs. Charles Van Bergen as president, who is still serving as such president.

In 1904 the name of the original organization was changed to its present name, The Young Women's Christian Association. This record will call to mind the names of some who served the institution with fidelity for years.

PILGRIM TERCENTENARY.

The celebration of the Tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims occurred in this city on September 24th, which had been declared a civic holiday for that purpose. The visiting delegation arrived early in the day, and included, from England, Lord Rathcredan and Lady Rathcredan, Sir Arthur Shipley, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge; Admiral Sir William Lowther, Grand K. C. B., Colonel W. Edwards, Stanley Udale,

H. S. Perris, George McKinley and wife, and John Blair Macafee.

From Holland came Dr. A. J. Barnouw; from Canada were Colonel C. F. Hamilton, honorary secretary, and Archibald C. Kains. Some of them were received at this building by members of the Board of Managers in the forenoon and shown the building and its collections. The parade up Main street in the afternoon comprised three divisions of five to eleven units each, consisting of floats representing historical events and groups of the members of twenty organizations. Many phases of American history were portrayed as well as it were possible from the landing of the Pilgrims down through the Colonial period. It was the most elaborate series of pageants ever presented in this city. Following the pageant a reception was tendered at the Broadway Auditorium with Mrs. John Miller Horton acting as chief hostess.

At the banquet in the evening at the Statler Hotel, Henry R. Howland, one of the Board of Managers of this society, presided. The exercises of the evening were held in the Broadway Auditorium, and Eugene C. Tanke, chairman of the Pilgrim Tercentenary Committee of Buffalo, presided, and addresses were made by Acting Mayor Arthur W. Kreinheder; John H. Stewart of New York; Admiral Sir William Lowther, Grand K. C. B.; H. S. Perris, representing the British Government; Dr. A. J. Barnouw, representing the Government of Holland, and Colonel C. F. Hamilton, representing the Canadian Government. Six beautiful historical tableaux were presented in the Auditorium under the direction of Mrs. John G. Wickser. All nationalities and all classes had part in the celebration, the most distinctly historical of anything since the celebration of the centennial of the Battle of Lake Erie. Buffalonians thus had a commendable part in the most notable historical celebration of the year. It left a lasting impression upon all who wit-

nessed its full presentation. Credit is due to the members of the Buffalo Pilgrim Tercentenary Committee, and to the civil, military, fraternal and other organizations which aided in the preparation and in carrying out the celebration to a successful conclusion. It was a fitting celebration of a great historical event, which tended to awaken deep interest in the lives and enduring achievements of the Pilgrim fathers in laying the foundations of our civil and religious liberties.

BUFFALO SOCIETY OF NATURAL SCIENCES.

On Friday, October 15th, 1920, there occurred a memorable incident in the opening by the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences of their new building on the borders of Delaware Park at 1231 Elmwood avenue. This building is to be the central court of the larger building which the Society expects to erect in the near future, but which is prepared for immediate use by the installing of a remarkable systematic exhibit of earth science, which was at that time first shown to the public. There was a large and greatly interested throng of visitors that evening and the arrangement of the exhibit aroused enthusiastic admiration.

Beginning with the exhibits in the vestibule, illustrating the development and progress of astronomy, the guests, following a black line painted upon the floor to direct them, were next shown meterological exhibits, then those of dynamic geology, showing the structure and changes in the earth's crust during the volcanic period and that of the early sedimentary rocks. These were followed by exhibits showing the beginnings and development of plant life, then the molusca and the fossiliferous shells, then the first beginning of mammal life carried on until the appearance of man; then his gradual development, the beginnings of the primitive arts, the birth and development of the art of writing being especially well

shown, and finally the development of the commercial arts and the varied uses of natural resources. A number of profile maps, illustrating modern geography and especially that of this region, proved a source of much interest and pleasure. Since that time this new museum has been opened to the public daily.

OTHER OCCURRENCES IN 1920.

On November 8th Frederick Almy tendered his resignation as secretary of the Charity Organization after 26 years faithful service. He assisted in the formation of the College Creche and in establishing other charitable activities in this city.

The fourth campaign of the Joint Charities and Community Fund was in progress from November 15th to November 23d. Its purpose was to raise $365,000 to carry on fifteen charities and social service. William Warren Smith was chairman of the campaign and the sum was oversubscribed by $6,000.

On November 13th, 1920, a site was purchased by the Executive Council of the Diocese of Western New York, extending from North street to Summer street for a Church Center of the Diocese. The North street house (No. 237) is to be used for central offices of the church in the Diocese. The garage is being made over for the wardenry of the Delancey Divinity School and the house on Summer street (No. 254) is to be used as the residence of the City Missionary. Other buildings, for example, the Girls' Friendly Lodge, Fellowship Hall, etc., will eventually be built on the tract purchased.

On December 8th was dedicated in France the monument to the heroes of "the Trench of Bayonets" given by the late George F. Rand of this city, and partially described in my report for the year 1919. George F. Rand, Jr., the son, and the two daughters of the late George F. Rand, were present at the dedication, and

France was represented by President Millerand, Marshals Foch and Joffre, Premier Leygues, Magniot and other members of the Cabinet. The American Ambassador to France, Hon. Hugh C. Wallace, was also present. Mr. Rand was inspired to thus commemorate the heroic sacrifices there made by the battalion of the 137th Regiment of Bretons in June, 1916, which was swallowed up in the shell-torn ground while defending it against the flower of the German army.

The sculptor was M. Andre Ventre, chief architect of national monuments, aided by M. Paul Leon, director of the Beaux Arts.

BUFFALO IN THE WORLD WAR.

During the year 1920 was published by the Committee of One Hundred under authority of the city of Buffalo, the "History of Buffalo and Erie County," for the years 1914 to 1919, devoted principally to Buffalo's part in the World War. It is an attractive quarto volume of 733 pages compiled and well edited by Daniel J. Sweeney, City Clerk of Buffalo, assisted by Finley H. Greene, chairman of the World War History Committee. The revised edition is now in press and will contain 1800 additional names and some matter not included in the original edition. In its revised form it will constitute the principal local record of Buffalo's part in the World War.

WATERWAYS ASSOCIATION.

The 11th Annual State Convention of the New York State Waterways Association convened at the Statler Hotel on November 11th, and remained in session for two days, attended by delegates from various parts of the state. A long program was presented, comprising notable addresses and special papers on various waterway subjects; among the more important ones were those in opposition to the St. Lawrence Ship Canal pro-

ject. For several years the Hon. George Clinton has been chairman of the Executive Committee, and I have been its president. Its papers and proceedings are published annually.

On December 3d the Rienzi Hotel property on Main street was sold to a local company. It had been owned by the Peacock family since 1803 and it was located within what was then known as the village of New Amsterdam. Its original owner, William Peacock, was a surveyor, employed by Joseph Ellicott, and made the surveys used in laying out the streets of Buffalo.

Among the newcomers to Buffalo during the year were Rev. Bruce S. Wright from Albany, N. Y., to the Asbury-Delaware M. E. Church; Rev. M. M. Eichler from Philadelphia, Penn., to Temple Beth El on Richmond avenue, and Rev. George Ernest Merriam from Fitchburg, Mass., to the First Congregational Church on Elmwood avenue.

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION ON BOUNDARY WATERS.

That Commission convened on March 1st in the Council Chamber of the City Hall to hear interested parties in relation to the St. Lawrence Ship Canal and power development project, referred to said commission by the United States and Dominion of Canada for its investigation and report. The opposition was organized by the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce with Henry W. Hill of its Canal Committee in charge. Many Buffalonians attended the hearings and presented facts and arguments in opposition to the project. Hon. Frank M. Williams, State Engineer and others from the East and also from the Great Lakes cities were in attendance, including many who favored the project. Another session of the Commission was opened on June 14th, which continued two days. Several members of the New York Commission attended the hearings and spoke in opposition to the St.

PORTRAIT HALL, MUSEUM OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Lawrence Ship Canal project. William A. Rogers, Hugh Kennedy, Captain Nesbit Grammer, Adam E. Cornelius, Howard J. Smith, Hon. Murray Hulbert, Hon. Edward S. Walsh, J. P. Daly and others were among the speakers. Henry W. Hill and Richard H. Templeton, both of the Chamber of Commerce, presented a mass of documentary evidence in relation to the Great Lakes tonnage, showing that not one-tenth thereof reaches the seaboard for export and that such a ship canal would not be a success commercially. They further showed that all the harbors and connecting channels between the Great Lakes, now having only a depth of 22 feet, would require dredging to accommodate ocean-going vessels of 25 or 30 feet draft, and the expense of deepening such harbors and connecting waterways would run into millions of dollars, in addition to the cost of construction of the Ship Canal down the St. Lawrence. They also showed that the Barge Canal offers the best route to the sea. State Superintendent Edward S. Walsh, Hon. Murray Hulbert, Dock Commissioner of New York, Senator Leonard W. H. Gibbs, of Buffalo, and Senator James J. Walker of New York also spoke in opposition to the St. Lawrence Ship Canal project.

MEMORIALS AND MEMORIAL EXERCISES.

On February 23d relatives of dead heroes of the Great War assembled in the 65th and 74th Armories and in Dom Polski, where it was announced by Captain John C. Ward of the 50th Pioneer infantry A. E. F., Captain L. O. Williams of the 74th Armory, and Captain Patrick J. Keeler, that the certificates would be presented as soon as they were received from France. The address of Judge Keeler was eloquent. Rev. Stephen Pawlowski also extolled the courage and ideals of the dead heroes.

On May 30th an immense boulder containing a bronze plate upon which were inscribed the names of those who

lost their lives in the Great War from the 7th and 11th exemption districts was dedicated at the junction of Walden avenue and Genesee street. Hon. Gottfried H. Wende presided and Acting Mayor Arthur W. Kreinheder and Captain Hamilton Ward paid fitting tributes to the dead heroes. Rev. Miles J. O'Mailia pronounced invocation and the Rev. August Goetz the benediction.

On May 30th many veterans of the Spanish-American war unveiled the Hiker monument at the junction of Main and Genesee streets to perpetuate their deeds in Cuba and the Philippines. The veterans of the Civil War and the World War paraded with the veterans of the Spanish war to the site of the monument where the unveiling took place.

On May 30th three memorial tablets were unveiled in St. Paul's church to commemorate events in the World War. The dedication exercises were conducted by the Rt. Rev. Charles H. Brent, Bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Western New York, and senior chaplain of the Expeditionary forces.

Memorial Day parade was participated in by veterans of the Grand Army, the Spanish war and the stalwart young veterans of the late World War. Leading the parade was the 74th Infantry Regiment, commanded by Lyman P. Hubbell. The High School cadets were commanded by Gen. George C. Fox and the Spanish war veterans by Col. John G. Howland.

On September 19th a monument in honor of the heroes from the 8th district of the 16th Ward, who lost their lives in the World War, was dedicated at the corner of Walden avenue and Sycamore street. The granite shaft is 22 feet high and bears a bronze tablet upon which are engraven the names of the nineteen heroes who lost their lives in the service of their country. Judge Frank J. Standart, Commissioner John F. Malone, Captain Hamilton Ward and Lieutenant Harold Loos were the speakers.

On June 20th members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows from 26 lodges in Erie County held their annual memorial exercises in the Central Presbyterian church. Rev. Robert J. MacAlpine presided and preached a memorial sermon. The roster showed the loss by death of 123 members during the year.

PATRIOTIC EXERCISES.

June 14th was observed as Flag Day by the Buffalo Consistory which raised flags in several places in the business or down-town sections of the city. Flag Day was also observed by the Elks on Delaware avenue where a full patriotic program was carried out.

On June 20th patriotic exercises were held at the Front under the auspices of the Knights of Pythias. The orators were Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., and Judge George W. Addington, Grand Chancellor of the Order from Albany. Senator Wadsworth paid a tribute to the services of the 50,000 members of the Knights of Pythias who had answered the country's call on the occasion of the Great War. He said: "It is the loyal service of men like these which makes one feel better about the future of the republic, despite the unrest which prevails throughout the world."

REUNIONS.

On June 14th the annual reunion of the veterans of the famous 116th Regiment of the New York Volunteers in the Civil War occurred in Elmwood Music Hall. Col. John B. Weber presided. All in attendance were over 70 years of age.

On July 14th the twenty survivors of the famous 187th Regiment of Infantry of the Civil War, celebrated their 55th annual reunion at the G. A. R. Hall.

On the following day, July 15th, the surviving veterans of the 21st New York Volunteers Regiment, cele-

brated their 40th anniversary in a river party. They were headed by Colonel Daniel Myers, who served in that regiment as Captain before he became Colonel of the 187th Regiment. He came on from Newport, Ky., to attend the anniversaries of the two regiments.

FRATERNAL ACTIVITIES.

On June 14th Edward Cumpson, Potentate, and 140 other Shriners of Ismailia Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S., left Buffalo on a special train to attend the Imperial Council of North America, in Portland, Oregon, and after attending the Council and touring the Pacific coast from Portland to Los Angeles, they returned on July 6th.

On July 4th 200 members of the Buffalo lodge of Elks left Buffalo on a special train to attend the national convention in Chicago. They were accompanied by many visiting Elks from other parts of the State and from New England.

On September 10th the Supreme Council of the Royal Order of Moose met in this city. There was a parade of nearly 2,000 to the Broadway Auditorium, where a musical and oratorical program was executed. Mayor Darius A. Brown of Kansas City, Supreme Dictator of the Order, was the principal speaker.

The 25th anniversary of the founding of the Buffalo Council of the Knights of Columbus was celebrated on December 1st at its new auditorium on Delaware avenue. The speakers were Judge Daniel Kenefick, Lawrence J. Collins, Rev. Henry A. Mooney and Joseph E. Gavin, who was the first Grand Knight of the Buffalo Council.

On December 4th Hiram Lodge, the oldest Masonic lodge in Buffalo, began its three days celebration of its 75th anniversary. Among the speakers were Grand Master Robert H. Robinson of New York, Senior Grand Warden of Lowville, Grand Junior Warden Charles H. Johnson of Albany, and others. Frederick W. Kendall of Hamburg delivered the historical address.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.

On March 4th Gen. Leonard Wood, an aspirant for the Republican Presidential nomination, addressed the members of the Republican Club at the Statler Hotel on "the State of the Nation." He also made other addresses during the day.

On March 12th and 14th, Sir Oliver Lodge was in Buffalo and addressed an audience at the Majestic Theatre on the latter day, his topic being "Evidence of Survival," that is, "Is death the end, or does man survive what we call death?" He advanced no new theories, not previously announced in his publications, and in his lectures. His conclusions did not impress Bishop William Turner of the Catholic diocese of Buffalo, who holds that the immortality of the soul is a philosophical and not a scientific truth. On his return to Buffalo May 9th he addressed a small audience at the Majestic theatre, in which he maintained that "the main tenet of psychic science is that the ether is the universal substance which makes space and time continuous."

Buffalo was visited on March 13th by Governor Alfred E. Smith in advocacy of his reconstruction program of government, and also by Senator Miles Poindexter, an aspirant for the Republican nomination for President, who spoke at the Republican meeting at the Statler Hotel upon the subject, "Americanism and No Entangling Alliances."

On March 26th U. S. Senator Hiram Johnson of California, addressed a large audience at the Broadway Auditorium. He was an aspirant for the Republican nomination for the Presidency, and devoted most of his address to a consideration of the League of Nations as embodied in the Treaty of Versailles.

On April 15th John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was in Buffalo in the interest of the Inter-church world campaign, and

spoke at the 20th Century Club. The campaign opened on April 25th to raise funds for that purpose.

On July 6th Archbishop Daniel J. Mannix of Melbourne, Australia, spoke at an open air meeting in the baseball park in behalf of the independence of Ireland.

On September 30th Nathan L. Miller, Republican candidate for Governor, addressed Republican audiences in this city.

On October 18th James M. Cox, Democratic nominee for President, addressed a large audience at the Broadway Auditorium.

On October 21st, Warren G. Harding, Republican candidate for the Presidency, addressed a large audience at the Broadway Auditorium. Judge Nathan L. Miller, Republican candidate for Governor, also spoke at that meeting.

Governor Alfred E. Smith was in Buffalo on October 23d, and addressed a large audience in the Broadway Auditorium.

Senator James W. Wadsworth was in Buffalo on October 30th, and addressed a large audience in the Elmwood Music Hall.

M. Leonce Benedite, curator of the Luxembourg Museum of Art, visited Buffalo and the Albright Art Gallery.

Cedric E. Fauntleroy was in Buffalo on November 23d. He recounted his services to Poland in raising funds for food for the millions of Polish children. The mass meeting was held on Broadway at the Dom Polski. Many prominent Polish people were in attendance and were addressed by Fauntleroy and Chaplain A. E. Iciek of the Polish army.

On November 19th Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, former U. S. Senator from Indiana, spoke at the Lincoln Club of lawyers on the "Development of the American Constitution under John Marshall." He described some of the important events in the life of John Marshall which

may be found in his masterful work entitled "The Life of John Marshall," one of the most noted and valuable American biographies.

CANISIUS GOLDEN JUBILEE.

Canisius College celebrated its golden jubilee during the week commencing on June 13th and continuing for five days. The program of exercises included addresses of prominent alumni, distinguished clergymen and laymen from the Buffalo and other dioceses, and also the rendition of *Festzug,* composed for the occasion, and other musical compositions. That was followed later by the presentation of the Passion Play, the first occasion being on the evening of July 12th, in the rear of the college, where an open air stage and amphitheater were built. The play was written by Clay M. Green of Santa Clara, California. The stage management was under the supervision of Eric Snowden. It was presented by the faculty and students three times a week or oftener, during the remainder of July, all through August and well into the month of September. It was witnessed by more than 50,000 persons, including many from other towns, and it was highly commended.

At the Commencement exercises on June 17th, Rt. Rev. William Turner, Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo, presided. Forty-two seniors were graduated. At the Alumni banquet in the evening, Rev. Michael J. Ahern, president of the college, outlined the campaign for raising a million dollars for the needed expansion of college activities. The campaign did not open, however, until October 4th, when an executive committee of 100 was formed and also a committee of the Knights of Columbus was formed of which Lawrence J. Collins was chairman. The campaign continued until October 23d. One-fourth of the amount was subscribed in three days. On October 24th President Ahern announced that the million

dollar fund had been over-subscribed, and that the expansion work, including the construction of new buildings for its laboratories would be carried forward in the early spring. President Ahern, the faculty and students celebrated the event and there was general rejoicing over the result.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO.

June 11th records two events in the history of the University of Buffalo. The first of these was the graduation of the largest class in its history; the second was the breaking ground for the new buildings on the North Main street site, one of the most desirable in the city. Chancellor Charles P. Norton there turned the sod for the foundation of the first of those that are to form the group of University buildings.

The original site for the Greater University, consisting of about 106 acres, was purchased from the County of Erie for the sum of $50,000, which amount was raised largely through the efforts of Chancellor Charles P. Norton. This purchase and the gifts secured by Chancellor Norton of $50,000, gave the first real impetus for the creation of the Greater University.

In 1912 a committee of the University Club, consisting of Dr. Andrew V. V. Raymond, Dr. Daniel Upton, Frank S. Fosdick, Harvey D. Blakeslee and Richard H. Templeton, was organized to devolop a plan to raise sufficient funds to erect buildings on the new campus, which under the deed from the county, required the erection of a building for University purposes before June 15th, 1919. This committee, through the gifts of Mrs. Seymour H. Knox, raised funds sufficient to meet the offer of the Women's Educational Union in its gift of Townsend Hall at Niagara Square conditioned upon the University's raising $100,000. To this committee was later added a committee of three, consisting of Dr. Grover Wende, Dr. Thomas H. McKee and Dr. James A. Gibson,

and still later members from other departments of the University; and to this enlarged committee is due the credit for maturing many of the plans which resulted in the later campaign by the Liberty Loan Committee.

Two members of this committee offered prizes amounting to $6,000 for a competition, for the development of a landscape and architectural plan for the new campus. The prize in this competition was won by Mr. Hallam Movius of Boston, and it is his plan which forms the basis of the landscape development of the new campus. This plan has been dedicated to the memory of Dr. Andrew V. V. Raymond, Dr. Daniel Upton, Dr. Thomas H. McKee and Dr. James A. Gibson, all of whom were members of the committee and died before the Liberty Loan Campaign was commenced.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN.

In the spring of 1920 the Council of the University of Buffalo was organized to consist of thirty-six members, each serving for a term of four years; twelve of the number elected by the Alumni of the University. The reorganized Council requested Mr. Walter P. Cooke, chairman of four successful Liberty Loan campaigns, to organize a committee of citizens for the purpose of raising by popular subscription a fund of $5,000,000 for the University. Mr. Cooke entered immediately upon this work and on July 15th, 1920, called a meeting at his residence of 200 leading citizens of Buffalo, who were to constitute the general committee for the Endowment Fund campaign. Chairman Cooke, Philip Becker Goetz and John Lord O'Brian presented an outline of the campaign plans and on the following day met the Women's Committee, which was assembled at the home of their chairman, Mrs. Stephen M. Clement. Following directly these meetings and adding a great impulse to the University campaign was the announcement of Orrin E. Foster's magnificent

gift of $400,000 for the construction of the first new building of the Arts College on the Main street site—the Chemistry Building to be known as "Foster Hall."

Mr. Cooke selected as his vice-chairmen James H. McNulty, in charge of the sales organization; George D. Crofts, in charge of publicity and assisting in general organization matters; and Edward J. Barcalo, in charge of special subscriptions and allotment of quotas.

Mrs. Clement had as her aides on the Women's Committee, Mrs. Walter P. Cooke, Mrs. Richard H. Thompson, vice-chairmen, with Mrs. E. C. Sornborger in charge of clubs and women's organizations; Mrs. Harry P. Parrock as chairman of churches, and Mrs. Andrew Murdison, executive secretary.

The Sales Organization planned the campaign along lines successfully adopted in the Liberty Loan campaigns. They classified the city into one hundred groups, representing one hundred different trades, industries and professions; each group being assigned a definite quota and solicited by a committee of volunteer solicitors, selected from each trade and profession. The chairman and vice-chairmen allocated the one hundred sales committees into five divisions reporting to their respective division chiefs, John W. Cowper, Charles R. Robinson, Edward B. Holmes, William A. Morgan and Henry D. Miles.

A special committee headed by George K. Staples solicited the Masonic organizations. Employees of plants were handled by a committee of which H. P. Parrock was chairman. A Public Employees' Committee, headed by Arthur W. Kreinheder, solicited city, county, state and Federal employees. Fraternal organizations and committees were solicited by a committee of which Howard M. Heston was chairman. Samuel B. Botsford was chairman of the committee in charge of sales among the alumni of the University.

The campaign formally opened with exercises at the

City Hall and dinner of the workers at the Iroquois Hotel on Thursday, October 7th, 1920, and continued with daily noonday luncheon meetings at the Iroquois to the evening of Tuesday, October 19th, when the final result was announced. In this brief space of twelve days the citizens of Buffalo raised in cash and subscriptions to promote and improve the educational facilities of the University of Buffalo the sum of $5,177,726.41. More impressive still is the fact that 24,239 different subscribers share in this record, evidencing in scores of thousands of homes of Buffalo an enthusiastic interest in our local University. Of the subscriptions, 17,408 were less than $50 each; 3,764 subscriptions were between $50 and $100; 2,695 subscriptions were between $100 and $1,000; 292 subscriptions were between $1,000 and $5,000; 73 subscriptions were between $5,000 and $50,000. There were three subscriptions of $100,000; one of $150,000; one of $188,000; one of $250,000, and one of $400,000.

Publicity Director A. G. Bartholomew had associated with him Alex F. Osborn, Albert L. Kinsey, Samuel H. Harris, William J. Blackburn and Alfred H. Kirchhofer; with James W. Persons and Irving R. Templeton in charge of speakers and Rev. John C. Ward in charge of churches. A week before the campaign opened, trolley cars, telegraph and telephone poles, stores and store windows carried placards, slogans and emblems bearing appeals "Build for Buffalo," and "Help bring to life the dream of Buffalo's boys and girls."

Motion picture houses displayed special University of Buffalo films and slides. The news columns of the Buffalo daily papers and all the papers of Western New York carried large amounts of news matter on the campaign, supported by daily display ads; 350 painted signs and bulletins in conspicuous places advertised the campaign; and among the publications of the committee sent throughout the city was a handsomely printed and illus-

trated booklet entitled, "The Spirit of New Buffalo," and a book of questions and answers giving the salient features of the University and its needs. Churches and schools spread the propaganda and speakers addressed meetings in clubs, societies and church organizations during the entire month. The mailing department issued over 80,000 letters and circulars and the supply department put into circulation subscribers' buttons, subscribers' certificates, windshield stickers, envelope and package stickers to the amount of half a million pieces of publicity matter.

The campaign cost the University of Buffalo $13,515, or less than three-tenths of one per cent of the total subscriptions. This expense was paid by the University, leaving the entire amount subscribed intact and without deducting for campaign expenses.

The interest created in the campaign reached into every home of the city, but not until the last hours of the campaign did the goal seem possible of achievement. The goal of five million dollars was, however, reached and passed by nearly two hundred thousand dollars.

The University of Buffalo has now for the first time the assurance of an endowment fund and the possibility of immediate development of its College of Arts and Sciences on the Main street site. More important still, the University has taken its place in the hearts and minds of the citizens of Buffalo as an institution deserving of the united support of our community.

President Faunce of Brown University publicly characterized this campaign in the following words: "It was an achievement without precedent or parallel in the history of education in this country and will serve for years to come as an example and inspiration to other cities to attempt a similar task."

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Any survey of the activities of the people of this city and of its transactions for the year 1920 or for any other year is necessarily incomplete and cannot include an account of everything that transpired within its confines during the period. I trust, however, that the reports made on this occasion and what this Society has done and is doing will satisfy the taxpayers of Buffalo that the Buffalo Historical Society is doing the work that amply justifies its maintenance as a public institution.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

I attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington on December 27-30th. Several allied associations held conventions there at the same time. After listening to the reports of these organizations and their local conditions, I was impressed with the advantages of this society over many others for research and general historical work. Its scholarly publications are not inferior to those of any other society in the country. They show something of its work in a field rich in historical materials, which this society took possession of years ago and from which it has gathered into its archives much material. Its publications are becoming more valuable from year to year, and its collections are attracting students and writers from other localities. Here may be found the memorabilia of the lives of the early settlers and successive generations, which have occupied this territory, as far back as American records extend. While in attendance at the American Historical Association I was also impressed with the zeal and energy of those in attendance from various parts of the country and their efforts to learn more about American institutions and to discover and preserve the essentials of history. Such discoveries, if any there be, may throw a

light on periods of history more or less obscure, which may be as important as was the discovery of the Rosetta Stone, which led to the reading of Egyptian hieroglyphics and thereby to the opening up of the history of its dynasties.

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

This Society has a home of its own and is maintained by the city as are its other educational institutions. In return it has opened its doors to the public. Its library, its historical collections and its museum are frequently consulted by students and the people of Buffalo. Its lecture courses are attended by goodly numbers, and it is doing what it can for the edification of its people.

The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer show that its affairs are in good condition and that its activities have not slackened since the World War. It has maintained its lecture course and has now in press another volume soon to be added to its publications.

During the past year its affairs have been administered by the Board of Managers who were the following: Henry W. Hill, President; Charles R. Wilson, Vice-President; Frank H. Severance, Secretary-Treasurer; Albert H. Briggs, M. D., Lee H. Smith, M. D., John G. Wickser, William A. Galpin, Howard H. Baker (deceased on Nov. 17th), Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, G. Barrett Rich, Sr., Henry W. Sprague, William Y. Warren, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, Loran L. Lewis, George A. Stringer, Captain Evan Hollister, Edward S. Hawley and Carlton R. Perrine.

Hereto is appended a list of some

BUFFALONIANS MORE OR LESS NOTED, WHO DIED IN 1920.

On January 7, 1920, Deshler Welch, favorably known in the theatrical and reportorial worlds, died less than two months after the death of his cousin, General Samuel M. Welch. He was the author of "The Life of Grover

Cleveland," "The Bachelor and the Chafing Dish," "The Story of Louise," and "The Reincarnation of David Damien." Under the *nom de plume* "Boswell," he sketched many Buffalo men and women for the daily press.

On January 12th at his home on Lancaster avenue, William W. Browne passed away, at the age of sixty years. He attended both Yale and Brown Universities, and was graduated from the latter institution. He was a practicing attorney in this city for over thirty-five years. He was one of the editors of the Court of Appeals Reports, and brother of the late George Browne, at one time Corporation Counsel of the city of Buffalo.

On January 13th George P. Sawyer died suddenly at Winter Park, Florida. Mr. Sawyer was a graduate of Yale University in the class of 1872. He was a lumber merchant and interested in real estate along the Niagara river, a director of the Albright Art Gallery and one of the founders of the Charity Organization. Latterly he devoted much time and effort to War Relief, including that for Belgium.

On January 18th Dr. George H. McMichael died after a brief illness at his home on Maryland street. He was a graduate of the Dental Department of the University of Pennsylvania, and took a post-graduate course at Toronto University and was later graduated from the Medical Department of Niagara University. He practiced medicine in Buffalo for thirty years.

On January 22nd George Coit, one of Buffalo's well known business men, at the age of sixty-five years, died suddenly at his home on Linwood avenue. He was a senior partner of Hersee & Company, one of the leading furniture concerns of this city, and had been identified with many forward movements in Buffalo during the last forty years.

Dr. Ernest G. Graff, at the age of forty-six years, died on January 23rd. He was a member of Concordia Lodge,

and for a score of years had practiced medicine in this city.

On January 28th Hiram T. Green, at the age of ninety-one years, died at his home on Ashland avenue. He was the oldest member of the Masonic Fraternity and one of the oldest citizens of Buffalo. His birthplace was at the corner of Pearl and Genesee streets, when Buffalo was a village. He was actively engaged in the insurance business for upwards of fifty years and retired from business at the age of eighty-seven years.

On January 30th George H. Thornton, a well-known court stenographer, died at his home on Woodward avenue, at the age of sixty-eight years. At one time he was the official stenographer of the Assembly, and also, at another time, the official stenographer of the Senate. In 1892 he was the official stenographer of the State Constitutional Commission. He reported the proceedings of the Fassett Committee and also for several years, the sessions of the Chautauqua Assembly. For thirty-eight years he had been court reporter of this district in this city. He was not only a reporter, but a member of the bar, to which he was admitted in 1882. He was popular with lawyers and the courts which he served most faithfully.

On January 31st Walter Powers, at the age of seventy-seven years, died at his home on Greene street. He was born in Buffalo and came to Buffalo in 1864 and engaged in the business of building houses, and was one of the first to put up two-family houses in this city.

On or about February 6 Levi S. Gates passed away at the age of eighty-one years. For many years he was a member of the firm of Lee, Holland & Company. He was an ardent lover of music and served for long periods as organist, both in Albany and Buffalo, his affiliation here being with the Lafayette church. In 1898 he became treasurer and financial agent of the Auburn Theological

Seminary and continued in that position for twenty years. He was prominent in Masonic work.

On February 8th Charles W. Schmidt, at the age of seventy-one years, died at his home on Bryant street. He was a graduate of the Holy Cross College at Worcester, Mass., and later opened a store on Bryant street in this city. He was a communicant at St. Joseph's Cathedral, where the funeral ceremony occurred.

On the morning of February 12th former Senator George A. Davis died at his home in Lancaster. He had been in declining health for several years and had been ill at his home for several weeks prior to his decease. Senator Davis was born in Buffalo on August 5, 1858, attended the public schools, learned the trade of picture framing and later studied law in the office of Day & Romer. He joined the 74th Regiment in 1877 and remained a member of it for twenty years, during the latter part of which he attained the rank of colonel. He was admitted to the bar in 1880, was elected to the Board of Supervisors of Erie County in 1889 and was chairman at the time he retired from the Board in 1895. He was one of the delegates from Erie county in the State Constitutional Convention of 1894 and became a member of the State Senate in 1896 and served in that body until the end of the year 1910. He was a member of its Cities, Judiciary, Canal and other committees. He was chairman of its Canal Committee and later of its Judiciary Committee and for some time he was acting chairman of its Judiciary Committee. He frequently presided over the Senate and was a model presiding officer. He introduced and stood sponsor for the $101,000,000 Canal Referendum bill of 1903, and was a supporter of all canal legislation during his entire senatorial career. He was a tireless worker in committee and during the sessions of the Senate, and was one of the most influential members of that body. He was deeply interested in

the public school system and for several years gave medals to the students in the schools of Lancaster and other parts of the county, as rewards for high standing and proficiency. He was a member of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Normal School for several years before his death. He served on the Lancaster Selective Service Board for two years and it is believed that his continued service on that board impaired his health. He was a member of various fraternal organizations and one of the most affable and influential legislators that ever represented the county in the State Senate. His loss to Lancaster, where he was universally beloved, to the County of Erie, which he loyally served, and to the State, where his influence was most widely felt, is deplored by all who had the good fortune to know his many admirable qualities. His remains were placed in the family vault in Lancaster.

Brayton L. Nichols, for many years the editor of the Buffalo *Illustrated Express,* died at his home on Tioga street in Buffalo, on February 12, 1920. He was the author of a history of the Spanish War and contributed many articles to the *Express,* in whose service he spent the larger part of his life.

Miss Pauline Ellis, a teacher of Latin and History in the Masten Park High School, a graduate of Vassar College, died suddenly at her home of pneumonia, on February 12th, 1920. She was the daughter of the late William H. Ellis.

On February 13th Dr. John W. Daniels passed away at his home on West Ferry street. He was a graduate of Yale University and Niagara University. He was interested in the Working Girls' Home on Niagara street and the Deaconess Home of the Delaware Avenue M. E. Church.

On February 15th Kingsbury Walker died at North Best street, the home of his son. For forty years he was

engaged in the tug-boat business in and out of the Buffalo harbor. One of his boats was used to patrol the Niagara river during the Fenian raids in 1866.

On February 17th there died in Buffalo Mrs. Margaret W. Cunningham, for many years engaged in philanthropic work in this city, and on the same day Mrs. Thomas Stoddart, wife of the well-known pharmacist, and also Mr. William Walker, for forty years in the service of the Western Union Telegraph Co.

On February 19th Louis H. Eckert, one of the active real estate agents, and interested in many other activities of Buffalo, passed away. He was popular and well known in political circles.

On February 25th Rev. Daniel J. Walsh, pastor of the Church of the Nativity, after a long service in that parish, passed away. He was well and widely known. His great work in building the artistically designed brown stone edifice at the corner of Albany and Herkimer streets, and the school building across the way, together costing about $400,000, was a strain on his energies in his advancing years, which may have hastened his death. His funeral took place on February 28th, in the church which he had builded.

On March 4th Victor R. Blehdon, after a long illness, passed away at the age of 73 years. For nineteen years he was the Grand Receiver of the Ancient Order of United Workmen. He was also Grand Regent of the Royal Arcanum and also a director of the Memorial Hospital. For many years he was prominent in fraternal circles.

On March 7th Franklin Sidway, life-long resident of this city, died in St. Augustine, Fla., where he was spending the winter. He was a director of the Buffalo Public Library, member of the Buffalo Historical Society, and held several financial positions at different times in this city.

On March 19th John Lockwood Romer died at the age of 74 years. He had practiced law in Buffalo for many years, the major part of the time in partnership with the late Hiram C. Day, and for some time thereafter with Charles M. Harrington. He was a trustee and the treasurer of the Blocher Homes, and the principal administrator of that estate and endowment. Mr. Romer was a descendant of the Dutch settlers of Eastern New York.

On March 21 Edward H. Webster died at his home on Lincoln Parkway, aged 68 years. He was a member of the Historical Society.

On March 22d Isaac Boasberg died at his home on Lafayette avenue. He was a member of the old Volunteer Fire Department, and later served in the Exempt Firemen's Association. He was best known as a diamond broker.

On March 28th Dr. David Henry Waugh died at the Buffalo General Hospital, aged 66 years. He was prominent in fraternal organizations.

On March 28th Dr. Bernard Bartow passed away at the Children's Hospital. He was the principal physician of this institution, and a noted surgeon. He was a member of the American Orthopedic Association.

On March 31st Henry A. Hempel died. He was the inventor of an improved printer's quoin, universally used in printing offices, and they were always manufactured in Buffalo. He established the village of Gotha in Florida, named after his birthplace in Germany, where for some time he operated lumber mills.

On April 3d Charles H. McCullough, Jr., President of the Lackawanna Steel Co., died in Baltimore, as a result of influenza. The funeral was held on April 5th at his home on Oakland Place in this city, where he had resided for fifteen years and made many friends.

On April 17th Walter Scott Ovens died at the age of

87 years. He was a member of the R. Ovens Baking Co., which his father founded.

On April 18th James Hanrahan died at the age of 77 years. He was engaged in the coal business for 60 years. He was one of the founders of the Savings and Loan Association, and Vice-President of the Irish-American Savings Bank of Buffalo. He was elected Supervisor of the 1st Ward in 1875, and a member of the City Council at the adoption of the City Charter about the year 1890. and served two terms and filled many other positions of trust.

On April 19th William Marion Hamilton died instantly of heart failure near his home on Summer street, aged 62 years. He was engaged in insurance business, and was one of the prominent members of the First Presbyterian Church.

On May 4th Matthias Rohr, for thirty-five years manager of the Guardian Life Insurance Co., and former editor of the *Daily Volksfreund,* died suddenly in New Lexington, Ohio, where he was visiting his daughter. He was an able writer and had many warm friends in Buffalo.

On May 10th Ignatz Speich died at his home on Riley street. He was well known in political circles and belonged to several fraternal organizations.

On May 11th William J. Britt was injured in a taxicab accident and died that night. For twenty years he was a member of the police force. He was the father of Rev. Edmund J. Britt, Chancellor of the Catholic Diocese.

On May 13th George M. Hausauer died, aged 77 years. For many years he conducted a printing establishment, but retired from business fifteen years ago. On the same day also deceased George H. Hopkins, assistant secretary of the Buffalo Insurance Co. He was a prominent member of several German musical societies and several fraternal organizations.

On May 16th Dr. William H. Slacer passed away as a result of injuries received in a street car accident some time previous. He graduated from the University of Buffalo in 1873 and shortly thereafter became physician to the Sisters of Charity, and later he was the attending physician and surgeon at the Erie County Hospital for several years. He was prominent in local politics and in Masonic circles.

On May 19th Charles Schoenhut, a prominent east side business and civic leader, passed away. He was born in Germany 52 years ago. He was one of the founders of the Central Council of Business Men's Association, and secured many improvements for the east side of the city. He was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of 1915.

On May 19th Irving E. Waters died at his home at the Colonial Circle. He was engaged in the banking business and was at one time connected with the Bank of Commerce and later was the cashier of the Citizens National Bank and was its first president.

On May 22 Alvin W. Day died of pneumonia, aged 76 years. He was a veteran of the late Civil War and participated in several engagements. For forty years he was engaged in the mantel and tile contracting business.

On May 20th Arthur J. Stuart, well known in automobile circles, died after an operation for appendicitis, at the Homeopathic Hospital.

On May 24th Major-General William Auman died in Pasadena, Cal. He served in both the Civil and Spanish wars and was retired from the U. S. Army in 1902, and resided in Buffalo.

On May 27th Norris Morey, one of the oldest members of the Erie County Bar, died at his home after a long illness. He organized Company E of the N. Y. Cavalry of which he was Captain. He served in the Civil War during the years 1861, 1862 and 1864. He was a graduate of

Oberlin and Albany Law School, and served as Assistant District Attorney of Erie County in 1870, and Assistant City Attorney of Buffalo from 1872-1874.

On June 4th Henry D. Fisher died at his home on Lawrence Place. For several years he was the manager of the wholesale department of S. O. Barnum's store on Main street.

On June 13th Henry Lieder died at his home on Bailey avenue, aged 65 years. He was Supreme Vice-President of the Knights of St. John, and his funeral was attended by prominent members of the order from other cities.

On June 20th William M. Williams died at his home on Fourteenth street, aged 70 years. He was a member of several civic organizations and Past Master of the Robert Burns Society.

On June 21st Rev. Philip Spaeth, pastor of St. John's Evangelical Church, died at his home in this city.

On June 24th Hyman Pinkelstein, a well known baker on Elk street, died after a brief illness. He had been engaged in the business for about thirty years.

On June 28th James B. Thomas died of apoplexy. For many years he was a salesman for the Douglas Shoe Co., and was very active in fraternal organizations.

On July 6th Edmund B. Magner died, aged 65 years. He was a graduate of Cornell University and Albany Law School. He practiced law and dealt also in real estate, and was a thorough student of English literature.

On July 8th Dr. George L. Brown, shortly after his return from the Pacific coast, where he attended the Imperial Council, died very suddenly at his home on Highland avenue. He had held many offices in Masonic bodies, including that of Imperial Potentate of the Imperial Council of North America. He was a prominent physician and well known in Western New York. The honor-

ary bearers at his funeral were all Masons of the 33d degree, as was Dr. Brown.

On July 26th Mrs. Bertha Bach Walker, widow of the late Rt. Rev. William D. Walker, former Episcopal Bishop of Buffalo, died at her home on Linwood avenue. She engaged in many kinds of church work and was a generous contributor to this Society's collections.

On July 31st Dr. William C. Lewin, a practicing physician, died at his home on Jefferson street, aged 57 years. He was a member of the Buffalo Academy of Medicine, of the Erie Medical Society and of the American Medical Association.

On August 1st Dr. Thomas H. McKee died at his home on Cleveland avenue, aged 57 years. He was a graduate of the Buffalo Medical College, and a member of several medical societies.

During the first week of August Louis Buxbaum died at the age of 53 years. He was the founder of the Star Grocery Stores, and a tireless worker in Hebrew benevolent activities.

On August 12th Clara Barton (Mrs. William Y.) Warren passed away at her home on Porter avenue. She was a descendant of one of the oldest settlers on the Niagara Frontier, of the Barton family. She was active in charitable work in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, and was held in great esteem and affection by all her acquaintances.

On August 9th Brigadier General George G. Grimes died at the Buckingham Hotel in this city. He had been in the army for 40 years and was an authority on all military maneuvers and tactics. He was commissioned Brigadier General in 1907 and retired.

On August 9th Frederick W. Lamy died at his home on Woodlawn avenue. He was engaged in the shoe business but retired some years ago and devoted himself to study and travel. He learned and spoke several foreign lan-

guages. He was a member of the well-known Lamy family of this city, whose members have been prominent in the official life of the county and state.

On August 18th John Dibble, a Civil War veteran, died at his home, aged 82 years. He enlisted upon President Lincoln's first call for volunteers and served throughout the war. He was a corporal in Company K of the 116th Regiment, New York Volunteers.

On August 23d Leon S. Barnard died of injuries received in an automobile accident. He was long in the service of the city, and a brother of a former City Comptroller.

On August 25th Jesse Oppenheimer passed away. He was prominent in business and political circles.

On September 12th Nathaniel W. Norton died at the home of his daughter at Great Barrington, Mass. He practiced law in this city for nearly forty years. He was for a time Assistant U. S. District Attorney and the first president of the Buffalo Public Library, in which he took a deep interest for many years.

On September 15th Charles Dennis died at Georgetown, S. C. He was well known in this city. For years he maintained a swimming school on Allen street.

On September 21st George Buell Webster died at Watertown after a long illness. He was a lawyer and appointed by Grover Cleveland to a State position nearly forty years ago and spent many years in Albany.

On September 28th Richard L. O'Donnel passed away at the Memorial Hospital in New York, after a long illness. He was a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point. He was the General Superintendent of the Pennsylvania railroad here from 1908 to 1911.

On September 30th William S. Lansing, a well known architect, died suddenly at his home on Bryant street. He was one of the supervising architects of the Pan-American buildings, he also supervised the construc-

tion of the 74th Regiment Armory. He was founder of the Canoe Club and was identified with many organizations in Buffalo, and was prominent in Masonic circles.

On October 3d David Hoerber, an undertaker, died at his home on William street. He was president of East Buffalo Business Men's Association. He was a member of a number of fraternal organizations, and had been in business about twenty-five years.

On October 15th Col. Charles Lee Abell died after a long illness, aged 64 years, at his home on Linwood avenue. He was a direct descendant of Elder William Brewster, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the 74th Regiment in 1894, prominent in commercial affairs of the city and especially in the grain elevating and insurance business. He was a member of the Canal Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and one of its most active members.

On November 9th Miss Isabelle Ryan died in Milwaukee, Wis. For many years she was principal of the Terrace School No. 2. At one time she was president of the Women Teachers' Benefit Association.

On November 12th Dr. Albert Salter died. He had practiced medicine for thirty-five years or more in Buffalo.

On November 12th George H. Ball died at Detroit, Mich., aged 74 years. He was the inventor of the Ball High Speed engine, and also the designer of other mechanical appliances, and was an expert yachtsman.

On Nov. 11th Amy Gifford Goodwyn died. For twenty years she had been identified with the Health Department.

On November 16th Rev. Samuel McGerald died at his home on Pennsylvania street, aged 87 years. He was well known in Buffalo, and at one time was the publisher of the *Christian Advocate,* and prominent in Methodist Episcopal Church affairs.

On November 16th James Gilbert Robertson died at

his home on West Tupper street. He had been associated with Adam, Meldrum & Anderson for forty-two years.

On November 17th Howard H. Baker died at East Aurora, aged 85 years. He was one of the oldest and best known citizens of Buffalo. He had been a member of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, succeeding the late Henry A. Richmond in 1913. He was appointed Postmaster of Buffalo by President Cleveland on July 1st, 1894, and served until April, 1899. He organized the Howard H. Baker Co., and was the senior member thereof until his retirement a few years ago. He attended the meeting of the Board of Managers on November 4th, and was apparently in his usual health. A resolution in tribute to his memory was adopted at the December meeting of the Board.

Colonel Thomas W. Symons, for many years a resident of Buffalo, died in Washington on November 23d, aged 71 years. He planned and built the Buffalo break-wall, one of the longest in the world, and was greatly interested in the Barge Canal. He was a member of the advisory board and consulting engineer on canals in the State of New York. His report to the Board of Engineers of the U. S. Army on "A canal from the Great Lakes to the Hudson river" in 1897, embodied in House document No. 86 of the 1st Session of the 55th Congress, is exhaustive and did much to create sentiment against a ship canal and laid the foundation for the Barge Canal from the Great Lakes to the Hudson river, which he strongly advocated. He had been a prominent contributor to the *Publications* of this Society.

On November 27th Dr. Benjamin W. Cornwall died suddenly, aged 57 years. For many years he was one of the leading physicians of Dr. Pierce's Hospital on Main Street.

On November 28th Dr. Theodore G. Lewis died, aged 84 years. He was well known as a dental surgeon.

On December 3d Charles S. Cadwallader died at his home on Prospect avenue, after a short illness. He was vice-president of the firm of Smith, Davis & Co., insurance brokers, and had been engaged in that business for forty years.

On December 8th Buffalo's oldest citizen, James Caufield, passed away. He celebrated his 100th birthday on April 4th. He crossed the ocean in a sailing vessel at twenty years of age and came from New York to Buffalo on a canal boat in 1840, fifteen years after the canal was opened.

On December 10th, Dr. Albert E. Woehnert passed away at his home on Delaware avenue. The funeral was largely attended by many prominent physicians.

On December 30th Henry C. Moffat, a native of this city, passed away, aged 76 years. At one time he was engaged in the drug business in New York, later in the tanning business in Buffalo, thereafter in the brewery business and lastly in the malting business.

In addition to those already mentioned, many other Buffalonians died during the year 1920. This Society lost 22 of its members, whose names will appear in the Secretary's report, some of whom have already been mentioned.

The fatalities during the year from automobile accidents reached the unprecedented number of 103. Automobile driving is becoming so reckless that accidents are frequent and many lives are sacrificed without negligence on their part.

In giving the names of some who passed away in 1920, no attempt has been made to recount their manifold services to this city. Each in his own way contributed something to its growth and welfare and was an active force in its progressive life.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

Mr. President, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

I have the honor to report an excellent year in all lines of our work. The membership has been increased, the museum and library have received valuable accessions, the entertainments have been of good quality and well attended, and the publication work is satisfactorily going forward.

THE BUILDING.

The Historical Building has been well looked after by our engineer, Mr. Jones, and his assistant, Mr. Parcell. During the summer considerable work was done on the roof, principally the resurfacing of the deck with asphaltum. Tiles were re-set and skylights made tight and painted.

The antique candelabra which for some years have stood on the abutments of the north steps, were found to be deteriorating and the copper stain discolored the marble. They were accordingly removed to the Central Court of the building.

Various minor repairs have been made as needed.

In my report a year ago, I called attention to the need of a storage vault. A survey of the building shows that to build in such a vault so that it should be convenient and yet unobtrusive is not easy. It is suggested that before such construction be entered upon the Society avail itself of the services and advice of the architect of the building. The time is not far distant when the enlargement of the building will be called for by the growth of the museum, of the library and by the already urgent need of a larger lecture hall.

MUSEUM.

The museum has received an exceptionally large number of interesting objects, necessitating the addition of

more cases. As a list of these gifts appears in Volume XXIV of our Publications, soon to be distributed to our members, it is not here repeated.

A noteworthy acquisition by purchase was the painting by Miss Claire Shuttleworth, showing Main street, looking south from Court, as it was gay with flags of the allied nations on the inception of the Victory Loan drive in 1919. The artist aptly styles her picture "The Avenue of the Allies."

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XXIV of our Publications series is in the hands of the binders, and it is expected will soon be ready for distribution to our members. Besides an exceptionally full record of transactions of the Society, it contains a number of notable papers, chief of which is a history of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, written for the Historical Society by Mr. Frederick Houghton, Principal of Public School No. 7, author of various textbooks and a special student of local Indian history. The volume also contains a number of historical documents and memoirs, and a journal, now for the first time printed, of Maj. Gen. Jacob Brown's inspection tour up the Lakes in 1819. In going and returning through Lake Erie, General Brown and party traveled on the *Walk-in-the-Water*, the pioneer steamboat of the Upper Lakes.

Volume XXV of our Publications is now in preparation.

During the year the Society took up the matter of placing a marker on the site of the Temple of Music of the Pan-American Exposition, in which President McKinley was fatally shot, Sept. 6, 1901. The necessary consents for the placing of this marker were not had until late in the year, but the Society expects to proceed with it as soon as spring weather is favorable.

The Secretary begs to direct the attention of the Board of Managers to the condition of the Garrison Burial

Ground, which the Society owns, at Williamsville. The old fence which for some years surrounded it, some time ago fell into decay and has been removed, but has not been replaced. To keep the lot lines and prevent encroachment, it should be replaced, or at least stone or concrete markers set at the corners. This matter will be brought to the attention of the Board at a suitable time.

MEMBERSHIP.

Death took heavy toll from our membership during 1920, the number of deaths during the year being 22, as follows:

Jan.	13.	George P. Sawyer	Resident Member
Jan.	22.	George Coit	" "
Jan.	27.	John Sterns Minard	Corresponding Member
Feb.	12.	Brayton L. Nichols	Resident Member
Feb.	12.	Hon. George A. Davis	" "
Feb.	19.	Reuben J. Getz	Resident Member
Mar.	7.	Franklin Sidway	Life "
Mar.	18.	John L. Romer	Resident "
Mar.	21.	Edward H. Webster	" "
Mar.	22.	Isaac Boasberg	" "
Mar.	28.	Dwight W. Hodge	" "
May	2.	Junius S. Smith	" "
May	21.	Gen. William Auman	" "
May	27.	Norris Morey	" "
July	26.	Mrs. William D. Walker	" "
Sept.	12.	Nathaniel W. Norton	Life "
Oct.	2.	Mrs. Walter T. Wilson	Resident "
Oct.	27.	Miss Helena E. Murray	" "
Nov.	17.	Howard H. Baker	" "
Nov.	22.	Mrs. John C. Thompson	" "
Nov.	28.	Theodore G. Lewis, D.D.S.	" "
Dec.	3.	Charles S. Cadwallader	" "

Many of these friends had been on our books for many years. Mr. Sidway had been a life member since 1869—51 years; Mr. Morey since 1874, and several of the others had a connection with the Society extending over long periods. The death of Mr. Howard H. Baker deprived the Board of Managers of one of its most esteemed and devoted members.

Forty-seven new members were added during the year.

LIBRARY.

Accessions to the Library during 1920 were 578 volumes or pamphlets bound in covers and given place on the shelves. Many of these were gifts. This is very slow growth, considering the size of the field we are supposed to cover. Until the policy of the Board of Managers as to the development of the Library is further defined, and adequate funds for its increase are provided, the Secretary can only proceed with caution and make few purchases. As opportunity offers he gathers local imprints, books and pamphlets printed in Buffalo and Western New York towns; but even in this small field the rarities, when they appear at auction, command high prices and there are many collectors. Genealogies, town and county histories, and in fact all desirable Americana relating to our region should be gathered here; but until there is adequate provision for its purchase, little can be done. In the meantime, the price of rarities steadily advances.

The total number of accessioned and catalogued books in the Society Library, at the close of 1920, was 28,059, of which 612 are the collection of Mrs. Millard Fillmore. The Lord Library stands at 10,260. These books should be supplied with an artistic memorial book-plate, to prevent them from being misplaced or reckoned as a part of the Society Library. A design and estimate for a suitable plate were secured, but have been deemed excessive in cost and the matter is for the present laid aside.

ENTERTAINMENTS.

The following lectures have been provided for our members and their friends:

Jan. 20—"The Pan-American Exposition—Memories and Pictures"..... *Frank H. Severance*
Feb. 10—"The Tragedy of Finland"..... *Herman M. Donner*
Feb. 24—"Buffalo's Civic Center"..... ..... *Capt. George H. Norton and Mr. Harry J. March*

Mar. 9—"Mexico Up-to-Date".....*Frederick I. Monsen*
Mar. 16—"Famous American Gardens".....
.....*Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston*
Mar. 23—"The Present Situation in Europe".....
.....*Dr. Charles Upson Clark*
Oct. 12 and 19—"The Republic of Finland and Its Rescue from the Reds".....*Herman M. Donner*
Oct. 26—"France as I Found It in 1920".....*Frank H. Severance*
Nov. 9—"Mountaineering in North America"....*LeRoy Jeffers*
Nov. 23—"Trading to India 1800 Years Ago"..*Wilfred H. Schoff*
Dec. 7—"The Pilgrim Tercentenary"....*William W. Ellsworth*
Dec. 14—"On the Frontiers of the Universe: Celestial Photography With the World's Greatest Telescope"...
.....*B. R. Baumgardt*

With the exception of Mr. Severance's address, Oct. 26th, all of the above were illustrated. The entertainment of Jan. 20, on the Pan-American Exposition, was an eleventh-hour substitute for a speaker who failed to appear because snow had disturbed travel. It gave us an opportunity, however, to show to our members an attractive set of slides, including several fine night views of the exposition and illuminated buildings, presented to the Society by Mr. John S. Neary of the State Normal School, Trenton, N. J.

The attendance has usually been excellent, and sometimes in excess of seating capacity. Because of the small size of our hall, no urgent invitation to the public is made. Our attitude in this is, that the entertainments are primarily provided for those who by their membership help to carry on the work of the Society. But no one is ever barred, and we are always glad to have non-members in attendance to the extent of our accommodation, without infringing on the privileges of the members.

VARIED ACTIVITIES.

At the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums in Washington, May 17-19, the Society was represented by Mr. Howland and the Secretary. At the

annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association at Bear Mountain in October, by the Assistant Secretary, Miss Helen F. Moffat; and at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Washington in December by President Hill. We have extended to the New York State Historical Association an invitation to meet in Buffalo, but as yet have no intimation as to their intentions.

In February the Board of Managers offered the use of the lecture room, free, to the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences for a course of Sunday afternoon lectures. These began later in the season, continuing until May. A more extended course of Sunday afternoon entertainments under the same auspices, is now under way.

A pleasant incident of the year was the reception given at the Historical Building, Sept. 24th, by our officers and members, to distinguished foreigners and other guests, sharing in Buffalo's celebration of Pilgrim Day.

We have undertaken no drives nor made any unusual appeals to the public. We are at present restricted in our work by lack of funds, lack of room and lack of adequate staff. The institution needs a curator who could devote himself to the development of the museum. The opportunity for enlarged activities, well within our proper field of historical research, publication and preservation of material, is great, and it is hoped the time is not far distant when we shall be able to do more each year for the public which it has become our chief business to serve.

At the meeting on January 11th, at which these reports were made, Mr. Howard A. Baker was elected a member of the Board of Managers for the ensuing term of four years, succeeding his late father, Mr. Howard H. Baker, deceased; and Messrs. G. Hunter Bartlett, G. Barrett

Rich, Henry W. Sprague and William Y. Warren were re-elected members of the Board of Managers for the ensuing term of four years.

A revised draft of the By-laws was read. Due notice of the proposed revision having been given two weeks previously, and the changes having the approval of the meeting, the By-laws in revised form were endorsed, approved and adopted by the members present.

On January 13th, the Board re-elected Hon. Henry W. Hill as president, Charles R. Wilson, vice-president, and Frank H. Severance, secretary-treasurer.

THE McKINLEY MARKER

On June 28, 1921, the Historical Society unveiled a small boulder, bearing a bronze tablet, to mark the site of the Pan-American Temple of Music in which President McKinley was fatally shot, September 6, 1901. It was intended to be, and is, simply a marker, to keep an historic site from being lost. Buffalo for some years has had, in Niagara Square, a monument to President McKinley, erected by the State of New York at a cost of $100,000. More than once, since the tragedy of 1901, this Society has taken up the matter of marking the Pan-American site, but for reasons not necessary to specify here, permission was not secured until a few months ago.

On the afternoon of June 28th a pleasant company gathered at the designated spot, in Fordham Drive, some 300 feet west of North Lincoln Boulevard. Besides officers and members of the Historical Society, the invited guests included the presidents or other representatives of patriotic societies, Grand Army posts and other organizations. President Hill of the Historical Society presided. Secretary Severance stated the purpose of the gathering, and briefly reviewed the events of September 5, 1901. That day, he said, at the Pan-American Exposition, was President's Day.

"At 11 o'clock in the morning," said Mr. Severance, "President McKinley left the home of Mr. Milburn, president of the Exposition, and was escorted by a body of mounted troops to the Lincoln Parkway gate. There they were met by the 74th and 65th Regiments of the National Guard, by representatives of this and other Governments, and by the Marine Band of Washington. The President was escorted, by way of the Triumphal Bridge,

UNVEILING THE McKINLEY MARKER

PRESENTED TO THE CITY OF BUFFALO BY THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JUNE 28, 1921.

BOULDER AND TABLET

PLACED BY THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY ON THE SITE WHERE PRESIDENT McKINLEY WAS SHOT.

to a speakers' stand on the West Esplanade. Here he was presented to the great throng by Mr. Milburn. At the close of President McKinley's address, he was driven to the Stadium, where a military review was held. Thence he was escorted to the Historical Building—then called the New York State Building—where a luncheon was given in his honor by the New York State Commissioners. Standing in the Central Court of this building, near where the statue of Lincoln is now, Mr. McKinley greeted many friends and guests of the Commission.

"After the luncheon, the President was escorted to the U. S. Government Building, where a private reception was given in his honor. Admission was by card. The President is said to have requested that a public reception be held.

"September 6th, in the morning, the President, with numerous officials and others, visited Niagara Falls. After luncheon, they returned by train to the Exposition grounds. Leaving the Exposition station, the President made a brief visit to the Spanish Mission chapel, then proceeded to the Temple of Music—on this site—for the public reception.

"A singer had just taken her place to sing a song, with violin obligato. The throng, marshaled in line, was slowly passing the President, who graciously clasped each comer by the hand. In the crowd came the assassin, who, as the President extended the hand of courtesy, fatally shot him.

"Mr. McKinley was taken to the hospital in the Exposition grounds, then to Mr. Milburn's residence, where he died, September 14th.

"September 15th, the body lay in state at the City Hall, A brass tablet in the floor of that building commemorates that fact.

"The location of this little marker was determined through the kind assistance of the City Engineer, Capt.

George H. Norton, and Major Edward B. Guthrie, a very competent engineer who had shared in surveying and laying out the Pan-American grounds. Referring the exposition surveys and maps to the assessors' maps on which the present streets are laid down, it appears that the center point of the Temple of Music was 324 feet west of the west line of North Lincoln Boulevard, and 19 feet north of the south line of Fordham Drive, as now established by the city engineer's office.

"We have not attempted to fix the exact point in the Temple of Music where the President stood when shot. The marker has been set here because, in this strip of parking, it is readily seen without obstructing the street, without infringing on any private property, and because it is well within the area formerly covered by the Temple of Music."

Mrs. John Miller Horton, Regent of the Buffalo Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and president of the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, spoke briefly, paying tribute to the memory of President McKinley. Mrs. A. G. Hauenstein read the following sonnet, written by her for the occasion:

To William McKinley

Martyred President of the United States

Only such words as Nobleness and Truth
  Rise to our lips at such an hour, today,
As thoughts come rushing at the sudden ruth
  That broke upon the splendor of his way;
A score of years have hastened to their end,
  Yet Memory in tender flight recalls
How all our hearts were bleeding for our friend
  As swift, the fearful knowledge filled our halls.

O, kindly man, whose justice, strength and worth
  Failed never in the time of stress or need;
O, shining soul whose warmth beamed o'er the earth,
  How rich thy life, thy service and thy deed!
Let all America, remembering, sing,
Here was a man whom God had made a King!

President Hill, addressing the Hon. John F. Malone, Commissioner of Parks and Public Buildings, spoke substantially as follows:

"Commissioner Malone, members of patriotic societies, members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, ladies and gentlemen:

"The Buffalo Historical Society unveils and presents to the City of Buffalo this bronze marker firmly set on this boulder at this place on Fordham Drive, which has been determined to be within the area of the Temple of Music of the Pan-American Exposition buildings, as near the spot as can now be ascertained, where William McKinley, President of the United States, was shot by Leon F. Czolgosz, an anarchist of Polish descent, at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of September 6th, 1901. In this vicinity was struck the deadly blow of the assassin inspired by the destructive principles of anarchy at the representative head of the Free Government of the United States.

"Here fell the noble McKinley, the twenty-fifth President of the United States, whose life had been one unending contribution to the uplift and betterment of his countrymen. 'With malice towards none and with charity for all,' like Lincoln, he had for years served his State and the nation most loyally with a devotion that never faltered until he supposedly had not an enemy in the world and all nations revered his name. The day before, he made his last great appeal for reciprocity and for the commercial peace of the world, which drew the men of other nations unto him. At the height of his career he was here ruthlessly stricken down by the enemy not only of free government, but the enemy of all government.

"On September 14, 1901, President McKinley at the age of 58 years, 7 months and 16 days died at the Milburn residence on Delaware Avenue in this city. This and other nations paid numberless tributes to his memory. The City of Buffalo set apart Niagara Square for the impos-

ing monument, which the State erected to perpetuate in remembrance the character and noble life of McKinley, one of the most beloved Presidents.

"Mr. Malone, we the officers of the Buffalo Historical Society now commit this simple marker to your keeping as the Commissioner of Parks of the City of Buffalo."

In response, Commissioner Malone said:

"President Hill, ladies and gentlemen:

"In the death of President McKinley, apart from our national loss, a sad, but noble duty fell to Buffalonians for all time. We, in a particular manner, will revere his memory. It was within our gates he was stricken. All the keen pain and anguish that touched our hearts at the immediate occasion of his death are here renewed. But, on the other hand, we now recall his splendid human traits of heart, mind and character, and those of us who have stood in the radiance of his kindly and gracious courtesy can attest that in his death America lost one of its most brilliant ornaments, one of its purest and most exalted statesmen.

"We are told that the annals of a nation are written in the biographies of its great men. The mass of the people have no history; the record of their lives is short and simple, and remains ever the same. They are born, they live, they die, and are forgotten. Generation after generation meets the same fate. But there are men who, by the force of talent or genius, indomitable will or never-ceasing perseverance, lift themselves above their fellows, and in the record of their lives write the history of their time and of their people. Such a man was President McKinley, and we of his generation, proud and happy in the achievements of his life and the record he has left, meet today to place this token of reverent homage upon a spot which is sacred to his memory.

"On this occasion I would be recreant, indeed, in the duty I owe the City of Buffalo, did I fail to congratulate

and compliment the Buffalo Historical Society on the splendid service it is rendering to the community in dotting the great area about us with memorial shafts and tablets, marking the notable events in the history of Buffalo, and keeping green in the memory of generation after generation the noble works and achievements of those who have aided in making the history of our city, our state and our nation."

OBITUARY

MAJ. GEN. FRANCIS VINTON GREENE

The death on May 15th, 1921, of Major General Francis Vinton Greene removed one of the most distinguished members of the Buffalo Historical Society. He was a man of varied and picturesque career; his military service was notable; and during his residence in Buffalo he showed his interest in this institution by giving to its library nearly a thousand books, mostly relating to the wars of the American republic. An alcove has been set aside and designated the Greene Alcove, devoted to the books, maps and pictures presented by him.

Francis Vinton Greene was born at Providence, Rhode Island, June 27, 1850. His father was General George Sears Greene, who won distinction in the Civil War, and whose commanding statue is one of the finest of many memorials on Gettysburg battlefield.

Francis Vinton Greene ranked first in his class at West Point, on graduation in 1870. His father, we may note, had ranked second, at his graduation in 1823. Francis was made second lieutenant, Fourth Artillery, June 15, 1870. Two years later he was transferred to the engineering corps; he became first lieutenant, Jan. 13, 1874, and captain, Feb. 20, 1883. In the meantime, at Washington, Feb. 25, 1879, he had married Belle Eugénie Chevallié. He spent some two years on duty in the mountains of North Carolina, and four years with the International Boundary Commission marking the northern boundary of the United States from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.

"In the last year of the Grant Administration," says a sketch of him, "while on special duty at the War Department in Washington, he occupied a confidential place in the office of the Secretary of War, and was brought into intimate relations with Grant, Sherman and Sheridan. Grant once said that if he were unable to finish his memoirs young Greene should complete the task."

In 1877 the Government sent him to Russia as military attaché to the American Legation at St. Petersburg, especially assigned to accompany the Russian army in the field in the war against Turkey. His official report of that important and often highly adventurous service, was published in 1879, by order of

MAJ. GEN. FRANCIS VINTON GREENE

the Secretary of War. It is an octavo work of more than 400 pages, with a supplementary volume of maps and plans. Two years later the author, who at that period was a first lieutenant, Corps of Engineers, told the story of his Russian campaign in a volume entitled "Sketches of Army Life in Russia," a work which won the public and merited its popularity by reason of an attractive style, and well matured views as to the people and problems with which it dealt. It was during this Russian service that Lieut. Greene met the Czar, Alexander II., the Grand Duke Nicholas, and became closely associated with General Gourko and the officers of his staff. He was present at the battles of Schipka, Plevna, Sophia, Philipopolis and minor engagements. He received the decorations of St. Vladimir and St. Anne, and from the Czar personally, a medal of the Turkish campaign of 1877-'8. In his very readable "Sketches of Army Life in Russia," he gives a graphic account of his informal meeting with the Czar "at the little Bulgarian village of Biela, where the Emperor was then quartered, on the afternoon of August 5, 1877."

Returning to America, Lieutenant Greene completed his voluminous official report, and was assigned to various engineering duties. From 1879 to 1885 he was in charge of public works in Washington. A little later he was assigned to the teaching staff at West Point, his chair being that of practical military engineering. He resigned from the Army, Dec. 31, 1886, and entered business. Three years later he joined the New York National Guard, receiving rapid promotion. In 1892 he was elected Colonel of the 71st New York Infantry, and later was advanced to brigadier general, and major-general of volunteers. He commanded the Second Division, 7th Army Corps, at Jacksonville, Fla., Savannah, Ga., and Havana, Cuba, October to December, 1898. He sailed for Manila on the flagship *China*, in command of the second expedition to the Philippines. He served throughout the Spanish-American war.

After the war he continued active in public service in various capacities. He was chairman of the Roosevelt Canal Commission, 1899; was a delegate from New York to the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia in 1900, and succeeded Lemuel Eli Quigg as chairman of the New York County Committee. On January 1, 1903, he became police commissioner of New York City, under Mayor Seth Low; which office he held for one year. On his retirement he was presented with a beautifully drawn and painted testimonial—an exceedingly artistic

work—by the inspectors and captains of police of Greater New York, "in manifestation of a just appreciation of his ability and integrity, as a tribute of regard, and to bear public testimony of profound respect, which we believe to be felt also by every member of the Department." The artist included in the engrossed testimonial a portrait of General Greene and several painted vignettes illustrating typical scenes in the daily service of a New York policeman. This testimonial, in a rich frame, hangs, with many other portraits and war pictures, in the Greene alcove of the Historical Society library.

General Greene's business connections were many and important. In 1891 he became president of the Barber Asphalt Paving Co., and was instrumental in forming the so-called "asphalt trust." He was cashier of the Eastern Trust Co. when he was made New York police commissioner.

In 1904 General Greene removed to Buffalo, which continued to be the family home until 1916, when he returned to New York. While here, his principal business connections were as president of the Niagara, Lockport & Ontario Power Co., and vice-president of the Ontario Power Co., 1904-'15. His Buffalo residence was at No. 303 North street, in the large stone mansion known to older residents as the Josiah Jewett house. His New York residence was at No. 62 East 77th street. He was a member in New York of the University Club, the Century Association, and the Military Order of Foreign Wars. He was a life member of the Buffalo Historical Society.

He was survived by his widow and five children: Warwick, who was commissioner of the Rockefeller Foundation, at Berne, until 1917, and later was a lieutenant colonel in the American Air Service, and director of war relief work; Mrs. Russell W. Bryant and Mrs. George Potter, of Buffalo; Mrs. Charles A. Lindley and Miss Katherine Greene, of New York City.

General Greene will perhaps be best remembered as a writer on military topics, and an interpreter of the great movements of campaigns. At the time of his death he was alluded to by the *New York Tribune* as "for many years one of America's foremost military critics." During the Great War he contributed to the *New York Times* a notable series of articles on the war situation. In view of his activity in other fields, which made heavy demands on time and strength, his literary output was surprisingly large. His published writings, not to mention numerous magazine articles, include the following:

1879. Report on the Russian Army and its campaigns in

THE FRANCIS VINTON GREENE ALCOVE, BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY.

Turkey in 1877-1878. Published by order of the Secretary of War, on the recommendation of the General of the Army. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 2 vols. 8vo, the second volume being an atlas of maps and battle plans.

1881. Sketches of Army life in Russia. 12mo. New York and London.

1882. The Mississippi. N. Y. 12mo. ill. 66. 276.

In Scribner's "Campaigns of the Civil War" series. Another edition, 1909.

1893. General Greene. 12mo. ill. N. Y. Gen. Nathaniel Greene, Major General in the Army of the Revolution. In Appleton's "Great Commanders" series.

1903. The Police Department of the City of New York. A Statement of Facts. Address by Police Commissioner Greene, published by the City Club of New York, Oct., 1903. 8vo. pp. 90.

Frontispiece, view of Police Headquarters, 300 Mulberry St., and numerous folding statistical tables and diagrams.

1903. Shall New York adequately improve her waterways? The answer of General Francis V. Greene, Chairman of the Roosevelt Commission, being an address delivered at the Canal Enlargement dinner of the Buffalo Merchants Exchange, May 8, 1903. 8vo. pp. 7.

1907. Niagara Power and its relations to the future of Ontario. Address before the Empire Club of Canada, Jan. 10, 1907. Toronto. 12mo. pp. 13.

Also in "Empire Club Speeches," edited by J. Castell Hopkins, F. S. S., Toronto, 1907.

1908. Niagara Falls in 1907. A paper read before the American Civic Association at the annual convention, Providence, R. I., Nov. 19, 1907. Published by the Ontario Power Co., of Niagara Falls, 8vo. pp. 59, ill. Buffalo, the Matthews-Northrup Works [1908].

1909. The inception of the Barge Canal project.

In vol. XIII, Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, pp. 11, with portrait.

1911. The Revolutionary War and the Military Policy of the United States. N. Y.

1915. The present Military Situation in the United States. N. Y.

1918. Our First Year in the Great War. N. Y.

CARLTON R. PERRINE.

On the death of this much-esteemed member of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, the following resolutions were adopted:

Again our Board is bereft of the friendly association and help of one of its much-esteemed members. On May 16th, 1921, after a long illness, occurred the death of Carlton R. Perrine.

Mr. Perrine spent his active years in Buffalo, and took a genuine interest in the evolution of the city.

He became a member of the Buffalo Historical Society in May, 1903. On March 2, 1916, he was elected a member of the Board of Managers, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Frank M. Hollister.

Failing health, which necessitated long absences from Buffalo, greatly limited Mr. Perrine's opportunities for active participation in the work of this organization; but he gave to his duties as Manager such attention as health and circumstances permitted; and his interest in the work and growth of the Society was evinced by his numerous gifts, notably of coins to the museum and books to the library.

Resolved, That we, the members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, herewith record our deep regret at his early summons from the activities of life. We knew him as a cheerful, sincere friend whose cordial association will long be missed.

Resolved, That this minute of our affectionate appreciation be entered in the records of the Society, and that a copy hereof be sent to his widow, with the respectful assurance of our deep sympathy.

JAMES FORSYTH FOSTER.

James Forsyth Foster, long identified with the business interests of Buffalo, died on August 26, 1921, after a brief illness at his home at 29 Colonial Circle. Mr. Foster had been a resident of Buffalo since 1885, having come here from Racine, Wis., where he was born on Dec. 10th, 1863.

He immediately became active in business interests, identifying himself with the firm of Sidney Shepard & Co., now the Republic Metal Ware Company. At the time of his death Mr. Foster was vice-president and treasurer of the Republic Metal Ware Company. He also was president of Associated Industries of New York State and chairman of the educational interests

committee of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Foster was a member of the Buffalo Historical Society, and the Buffalo, Country and Ellicott clubs. He took a wide and deep interest in civic affairs. Surviving Mr. Foster are his wife, Ellen White Foster, and two children, James F. Foster, Jr., and Mrs. Kenneth G. Collins, the latter of Hartford, Conn.

DR. PETER W. VAN PEYMA.

Dr. Peter W. Van Peyma died at his home, No. 835 Elmwood avenue, Nov. 30, 1921, after a short illness.

Dr. Van Peyma was one of the oldest practitioners in Buffalo. Early in the '70s he began practice here and after several years specialized in obstetrics. He made three trips to Europe and studied this branch of the profession in Berlin, Vienna and Paris.

Dr. Van Peyma was recognized as the authority in obstetrics in Western New York for many years, and was long an instructor in this subject at the University of Buffalo. About 25 years ago he was active in the campaign to license and examine midwives in Erie county. When the Board of Examiners was established he was appointed its secretary and served until his death.

Dr. Van Peyma was born in Lancaster, N. Y., in 1850. He was educated in Lancaster and Buffalo schools and was graduated from the Buffalo Medical school. Dr. Van Peyma wrote several books on obstetrics during the later years of his practice. About three years ago he retired. He was an active member of the Historical Society, and was often at its meetings, until his last illness prevented.

HON. WILLIAM CARYL ELY.

The Hon. William Caryl Ely, for many years a resident of Buffalo, and member of the Buffalo Historical Society, died suddenly in New York, Dec. 14, 1921. Mr. Ely was born at Middlefield, Oswego Co., N. Y., Feb. 25, 1856. After graduating from Cornell University he studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1882, and was elected to the New York State Assembly, serving from 1883 to 1885. In the last named year he began the practice of law at Niagara Falls and formed a partnership that later became that of Ely, Dudley & Cohn. This partnership was dissolved when Mr. Ely became president of the International Railway Company. Mr. Ely was one of the promoters of the Niagara Falls Power Company and of the suspension

bridge across the Niagara river at Lewiston. Through his interest in irrigation, he represented New York in the National Irrigation Congress. Among companies with which Mr. Ely was associated at the time of his death were the Street Railway Advertising Company of New York, the American Sales Books Company, and the F. N. Burt Company. He had long been active in politics, and had been a Presidential Elector. He remained a resident of Buffalo, even after business took him to New York, and maintained an office here, and many Buffalo connections, including his membership in the Buffalo Historical Society. He is survived by his wife and a daughter, Mrs. Elbridge Gerry Spaulding.

DOCUMENTS OF EARLY DAYS

Buffalo in 1801-1804.—From Mr. James B. Peter, Saginaw, Mich., the Buffalo Historical Society has received the original manuscript of the letter which follows. Mr. Peter's father, James F. Peter, made Buffalo his home in 1844. His grandfather, Major George Peter of the regular army, was detailed for military duty and ordered to Buffalo in 1801. In 1853 James F. Peter wrote to Roberta Peter, his sister-in-law, asking her to obtain from Grandfather Peter, a narrative of his experiences in the early days of the nineteenth century. In her letter Roberta Peter says she has taken Grandfather Peter's story and set it down just as he gave it to her, merely transposing certain incidents to keep events in chronological order. The narrative is of exceptional interest as it relates to a period in our frontier history of which very few records have come down to us. Major George Peter wrot · as follows:

In March, 1801, I marched from Frederick, Md., with a detachment of troops to Fort Fayette (Pittsburgh), taking with me six 6-pounders. In crossing the mountains I often saw packhorses conveying iron and salt from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Pittsburgh. In 1802, I left Fort Fayette for Fort Niagara. On my arrival at Presqu' Isle (now Erie, Penn.), I chartered the only shallop, called the *Good Intent*, sailing on Lake Erie which belonged to a citizen of the United States, to convey me to Fort Erie opposite to Buffalo. From thence I obtained a light wagon to convey me through Chippawa and Queenston to Newark where I crossed to Niagara. This fort was garrisoned by two companies —the artillery commanded by myself and the infantry by Captain Strong. The commandant was Major Moses Porter. At this period numerous warriors of the Six Nations and deputations of the northern confederacy of Indians were in the habit of resorting to the fort and were fed at the garrison. Each year of my stay at Niagara we received one or two visits from the celebrated Brant of the Mohawk tribe, accompanied by his secretary, an intelligent Scotchman.

In the fall of 1802, on my way to Detroit with a detachment of recruits, I stopped for the night at Schlosser during which the following occurence took place. A Seneca Indian by the name of

George killed a white man named Yulett at Buffalo and attempted to kill another when he was knocked down by an old veteran of Wayne's army, bound hand and foot, thrown into a bark canoe and by two men delivered to me. The next morning I had him conveyed to the garrison at Fort Niagara. Leaving Schlosser and passing Navy and Grand Island, I found numbers of Indians crossing from the British to the American shore. On my arrival at Block Rock an Irishman, keeping the only ferry across to Fort Erie informed me that the few inhabitants of Buffalo and its vicinity had gone over to the British side apprehending danger from the Indians who were in a very excited state in consequence of the arrest of George and a report that he had been put to death at Fort Niagara.

The troops under my command occupied the house of the ferryman during the night—the Indians appearing in numbers and apparently much irritated. The next morning, attended by Sarjeant Everett and six oarsmen I proceeded in a barge to the mouth of Buffalo creek and accompanied by my friend, Lieutenant Armistead, ascended a slight elevation to the only house—a frame building painted red, in whose vicinity were two or three log cabins which comprised the whole of Buffalo. As I approached the house Farmer's Brother, and Red Jacket, the famous chiefs of the Senecas, met me in a friendly manner. They inquired as to the report of George's death and appeared gratified to learn that he was alive. Notwithstanding the great excitement prevailing and th difficulty in quieting the mother of George, the Indians finally agreed to return to their homes and await the result of the trial by the constituted authorities of the state. Major Porter had already turned him over to the civil authorities at Albany, where he was tried during the administration of DeWitt Clinton. Red Jacket attended the trial and made one of his most eloquent and inflammatory speeches. George was convicted, but pardoned by the Governor on condition that he leave the state of New York. The day after my visit to Buffalo I embarked on board the British ship *Thames* commanded by Captain Wilkinson, anchored in Put-in-Bay, and the next day reached Detroit.

In the spring of 1803 the artificers of the artillery company commenced building the first vessel owned by the United States at Jill Creek. It was called the sloop *Niagara* and was employed in transporting military stores and Indian annuities from Buffalo to the posts on the upper lakes. During the summer of this year I was detached to open a road from opposite Queenston (now Lewiston) up the mountain to Schlosser. It was thence

continued by detachments under Lieutenants Knight and Miller to Tonawanda Creek, where a bridge was thrown over, and from thence to Buffalo. The only settlement in that country in 1802 was one at what was called Eighteen Mile Creek (from Fort Niagara), Buffalo, and the commencement of Batavia by the Messrs. Ellicott of the Holland Company. From Fort Niagara to Canandaigua there was one entire wilderness with the exception of these settlements. At this time the boats of the N. W. Fur Company used to pass up Lake Ontario on the American side, to Queenston and thence westwardly. Large quantities of salt manufactured at Onondaga were transported through Woods Creek to Oswego and by Lake Ontario to Queenston and from thence to Fort Erie, Presqu' Isle and the upper country. Merchandise from New York also pursued this route and was even carried from Presqu' Isle across the Alleghany mountains to Pittsburgh.

General Wilkinson proceeded from Pittsburgh in 1801 for the purpose of surveying an extensive fortification at Black Rock—the Government intending at that time to proceed with the work, but from some cause unknown to me, it was discontinued. I visited Black Rock and met there numbers of Indian warriors who with the youth of their tribe were fishing for white bass with hooks of their own construction.

In 1803 the Queen's Rangers were disbanded and Colonel Buck, commanding the 41st regiment, with Lieutenant Colonel Sheaffe and the celebrated Major Proctor, took command of the Northern British posts, including Toronto, Fort George, Queenston, Chippawa, Fort Erie and the posts along Detroit strait and in the neighborhood of Mackinaw. I left this country in 1804 and Buffalo was still in the state in which I found it.

A few notes on the foregoing letter will perhaps add to its value for the student.

The sloop *Good Intent*, which Major Peter styles a "shallop", was a boat of 40 tons, built at Erie, Pa., in 1799 by Capt. Wm. Lee, who commanded her, 1800-1802. He owned her, in company with R. S. Reed. Daniel Dobbins was her master, 1803-1804. In the fall of 1806, when under the command of Capt. John Alley, she was wrecked on Point Abino, and all on board, eight in number, perished, and her full cargo of merchandise was lost.

What Major Peter refers to as Fort Fayette, was originally Fort Lafayette. It was built in 1792, at what is now Penn avenue and Ninth street, Pittsburgh. Later the name was changed by the War Department to Fort Fayette. In August, 1813, an Act of

Congress was passed for its abandonment. By 1815 the fort had disappeared and most of the site was sold. A small part, remaining in the hands of the Government, was long used, perhaps still is, as an Army recruiting station.

Major Peter puts the building of the Government sloop *Niagara* at the mouth of Jill Creek—written "Gill" Creek in our day. It has usually been stated, and is probably true, that she was built south of the mouth of Cayuga Creek.

The sloop *Niagara* was not the first vessel owned by the United States, but, as Major Peter no doubt intended to say, the first one built and owned by the United States on the Great Lakes. Nor is this strictly true, for the Government had built a boat at Detroit in 1802. It is one of the classic jokes of our region, that the *Niagara* was ordered built at Fort Niagara; but when the attention of the War Department was directed to the fact that there would be difficulties in sailing up Niagara Falls, the order was changed, and she was finally constructed at or near the site where La Salle had built his *Griffon* in 1679, a short distance south of Cayuga Creek, above the falls. It had been proposed to use her for carrying Indian trading goods up the lakes. Captain Daniel Dobbins piloted her up the Niagara to Fort Erie, where he turned the command over to Lieutenant Dorr of the U. S. Navy, with careful instructions how he was to proceed up Lake Erie. The initial voyage was to have been to the Maumee, but Lieut. Dorr, after a wandering and perilous trip, finally brought up at Detroit. The Government soon sold the vessel to Porter, Barton & Co., who renamed her the *Nancy*, and profitably used her in their growing business. She was only of 35 tons!

The allusion to General James Wilkinson's plan to build fortifications at Black Rock in 1801—before the village of Buffalo was in existence—recalls an interesting project seldom noted by local chroniclers. While the region was still British—shortly before the execution of Jay's Treaty—Lord Dorchester had determined to erect a fortification at what is now Black Rock, because the spot so well commanded the outlet of Lake Erie. In 1799 General Wilkinson recommended a fort at the same place. "The site which I recommend for a post at the bottom of Lake Erie," he wrote under date of Sept. 4, 1799, "was pointed out to me by Macniff, formerly an engineer in the British service, who represented the ground to be well adapted to fortification, with the advantage of a good harbor and safe anchorage; which is not, I understand, to be found elsewhere in that neighborhood." This apparently designates the vicinity of the ledge of black rock

which formed a natural harbor and landing-place, near the site of the older group of the present water-works buildings. This rock was destroyed when the Erie Canal was built. It was here or hereabouts that LaHontan as long ago as 1687, located his "Fort Supposé."

General Wilkinson says further that a fortification on that spot "will overlook Fort Erie and command the mouth of the strait; in case of hostilities it will leave no harbor for the vessels of the enemy, on Lake Erie in that vicinity, and at the same time it will afford protection to our own; it will form a second barrier, and preserve the communication with Pennsylvania; and it will oppose additional obstacles to the advance of an enemy, by the Cataraqui and Lake Ontario; considered in this view, merely to the defence of the country, I conceive the subject worthy of examination; but viewed irrelatively to military purposes, it will not I believe be found undeserving of attention. For at the present time, the want of a road withour own own limits, and a place of deposit near Lake Erie, obliges us to carry our stores and merchandise, public and private, through the British dominions from Newark to Chippeway creek by land, and from the last place to Fort Erie in Batteaux, which involves much delay and expense, and exposes our citizens to undue constraints and impositions. Old Fort Schlosser, erected anterior to the Revolution, and long since in a state of decay, was occupied under my orders in 1797; but the rapidity of the current of that point. forbidding the approach of vessels of burthen, and the ascent of the stream being found difficult to batteaux, the small garrison was withdrawn. These difficulties and disadvantages will all be removed, by the establishment proposed at the head of the strait, as the ground from thence to Niagara, is, I am assured, susceptible of a good road."

One of the most interesting statements in Major Peter's letter is, that he was in command of the detachment of United States troops that opened the road from Lewiston to Fort Schlosser. The old portage road had been in use for many years; originally an Indian trail, it was several times shortened or improved in grade by the French. It was rebuilt up Lewiston Heights, in 1750, by De Beaujeu. After the massacre of the Devil's Hole, in 1763, Captain John Montresor remade it between the brow of Lewiston Heights and Fort Schlosser, and protected it with blockhouses. Major Peter says he "opened a road" "up the mountain to Schlosser." It would appear that this work was merely the improving of Montresor's road. From Fort Schlosser

to Tonawanda creek, the road was cut through virgin forest, by soldiers under Lieutenants Knight and Miller. The earlier custom had been to send troops and goods on from Fort Schlosser by water, but now, for Government purposes, it was desirable to have an independent highway by land through to Lake Erie, without the humiliating and embarrassing necessity of carrying on United States business over a Canadian road. General Wilkinson had made his headquarters at Black Rock in May, 1801, and the road building which was accomplished on the different sections by Major Peter and other officers, was under Wilkinson's supervision or direction. As part of this work, United States soldiers felled trees and built the first bridges across Cayuga, Tonawanda and Scajaquada creeks, in 1802-'03. The road which was built at this time to Black Rock, was known as the Military Road. It ran through land not included in the Holland Purchase, but belonging to the Government, and known from that day to this as the Mile Strip—skirting the eastern shore of the Niagara, with a depth of one mile.

In 1809 the State appropriated $1500 for improvement of this road, the amount to be collected from purchasers of land in the Mile Strip. The commissioners were Joseph Landon, Peter Vandeventer and Augustus Porter. By this time there was a "passable" wagon-road from Niagara Falls to Black Rock. Before this time it had become evident that the fort recommended by General Wilkinson for Black Rock was not likely to be built. If it had been, in accordance with his recommendations, the course of events on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812 would have been different. Probably Buffalo would not have been destroyed by the British. The reason it was not built is said to have been a disagreement between the National Government and the New York Legislature as to payment for the land required.

In the meantime the village of Buffalo had been surveyed, and numerous roads and streets opened up by the Holland Land Company. It would be tedious to attempt to trace the many steps by which the southern end of Wilkinson's old Military Road was finally incorporated into the street system of Buffalo. In 1848 (Sept. 18) the old road, which had undergone some changes, was declared a public highway. In May, 1851, a petition to open the Military Road from Ferry street to Black Rock was granted. In 1853 the annexation of Black Rock brought it and its highways into the Buffalo street system.

Thus was General Wilkinson's military road, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, to enable Uncle Sam to move troops and sup-

plies in his own domain, transformed through the decades into the Military Road of our modern city map.

We call it General Wilkinson's road; but it may be remembered that back of General Wilkinson was the Inspector General of the United States Army, under whose orders Wilkinson made his reports and executed the work. That Inspector General was Alexander Hamilton, whose name is thus directly linked with the history of Buffalo.

A Consistent Old Pagan.—Red Jacket's opposition to Christianity is well known. A striking proof of it comes to light in a letter recently acquired by the Buffalo Historical Society. It was written by an early missionary to the Senecas, Jabez B. Hyde, at the request of five of their leading men. It is an Indian utterance and was translated for Mr. Hyde by the interpreter, Thomas Armstrong. The manuscript, which is in Missionary Hyde's handwriting, is dated at the Seneca Village—now South Buffalo—Oct. 12, 1820, and is addressed to Jasper Parrish at Canandaigua, at that time U. S. Agent for the Six Nations. The letter runs as follows:

To Capt. Jasper Parrish, *Our Agent:*

Brother: We received your letter appointing the Counsel the 2d of Oct. The day after the time you appointed we heard a report that you was out of Health and had altered the time of the Counsel, but being met we proceeded to Counsel. Those among us opposed to instruction and improvement have been in counsel for days, the course they are taking and appear determined to persist in has greatly distressed us, if your Health will permit we wish you would come immediately on the receipt of this, if your Health is not restored send us word immediately, and we will send out men to confer with you. The opposition appear determined to break up all communication with Christian people and reject all instruction or improvement from them, and the Offers of Government for that purpose and Red Jacket is appointed to go to Government to make known their determination to Government. It would be very disagreeable to the Christian party that Jacket should go a representative of the five Nations to Government, as we are persuaded that his views are opposed to the best good of our people, and we fear would bring ruin on us, from this persuation we are determined to do all we lawfully can to prevent his going, *we hope, we trust,* as you are acquainted with Jacket and are a true friend of the Indians, you will not

favour this plan of the opposition, nor listen to any communication you may receive on this subject as the desire of the Indians and the voice of the five Nations. The Christian party agreed in Counsel yesterday to make this Communication to you and we the five under signed were appointed to get it written and forwarded to you.

Your Brothers

YOUNG KING
CAPT BILLY his mark X
STRITOWN[1] X Do
Allegany— BLUE EYES X Do
THOMAS ARMSTRONG *X Interpreter.*

By request, JABEZ B. HYDE.

SENECA VILLEGE, BUFFALO, OCT. 12*th*, 1820.

The foregoing shows that the Christian party among the Senecas, however much they may have been under the leadership and influence of Red Jacket in some respects, realized that his ultra-conservative attitude—his hostility, in fact—toward the whites and their religious teaching, was inimical to the best results and advancement of the Senecas on the Buffalo Reservation. Hence his effort to secure a more favorable representation to Government than could be expected at the hands of Red Jacket.

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE AS OFFICE-SEEKER—Among the manuscript collections in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society the correspondence of Millard Fillmore probably ranks second in importance, being exceeded in value only by the papers of the Holland Land Company. The Fillmore collection consists, not of letters written by Mr. Fillmore, although the Society owns a number of these, but of letters written to Mr. Fillmore when he was Vice President and President of the United States. The collection, which numbers several thousand pieces, has during the past year been remounted and rebound in forty-four volumes, each with an index.

It includes notes and letters from many of the public men of Mr. Fillmore's time. Very many of them were written by office-seekers, and in this class is the following from John Howard Payne, best known as the author of "Home, Sweet Home":

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1 Destroytown.

(*Private*)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17, 1850.
14th street, opposite Willard's—
next door to the Bowling Saloon.

DEAR SIR: It is with much regret that I attempt to engage your attention; for I know how incessant and how burdensome are the claims upon it, and I never would have increased them, could I have imagined any less inconvenient course for the furtherance of an object vitally important to me. But I forbear to waste time in explaining the cause of this approach. It can be readily seen in what I shall narrate, as briefly as I can.

In 1832, on my return to my native land, from a long residence in Europe, I was welcomed with a somewhat remarkable public reception. As the best acknowledgment in usefulness that I could make for the spirit which prompted this honor, I devised a periodical work upon an entirely original plan and more comprehensive than any which had or has ever appeared. It was founded upon the anticipation of our intimate intercourse with Europe which steam has since realized. I announced that the work would not commence until there was a subscription of five thousand.

With the prospectus containing this declaration I set out on a tour through the United States, in quest of patrons, knowledge of my country, and literary connections. I had obtained about fifteen hundred of the best names in the republic when a pursuit of information concerning the history, antiquities and present state of our Indians, led me among the Cherokees, then in Georgia. I happened to find them in the midst of treaty discussions with General Jackson's agents. I was amazed at the disingenuous conduct I saw exercised against them and when asked my opinion considered myself entitled as an American citizen to express it plainly. Presently afterwards, while transcribing historical papers at the residence of John Ross, in Tennessee, an armed band from Georgia broke into the house at midnight, made prisoners of him and of me, without any notice of the cause, or the production of any legal warrant. I was detained in close confinement about a fortnight—was interdicted all correspondence and all unwatched oral communication—and after being frequently led to apprehend an immediate execution by Lynch law on some pretended suspicion of abolitionism, I was *turned out* of prison with insult. The Georgia legislature spontaneously apologised by a joint resolution of both houses for the injury I had suffered in their state; but without offering any indemni-

fication to me for the losses that injury inflicted. The false charge of being a secret emissary of abolition, of course, would have immediately provided editorial rivals with a pretext to cast conjectures of some covert political purpose upon my enterprize and I therefore considered it inexpedient to attempt the completion of my proposed number of subscribers. Documents subsequently published by Congress contain much of the secret correspondence of Government agents at the time with the War Department upon this affair, wherein the principal allegation brought against me is, that I had proven myself to be a Whig, not only by my remarks, but by the company I kept.

My feeling for the wrongs I saw in progress against the Cherokees, induced me, gratuitously, to take up their cause here at Washington, to which I adhered until new and more favorable treaties were obtained for their relief.

My direct pecuniary losses; the gross injustice to which I had been subjected in other respects; the stoppage of an undertaking that would (by the entire realization since of all the anticipated occurrences upon which my hopes from it were founded), have been at this day an independent fortune to me; and all for the mere suspicion that I had thought like a Whig; combined to attract the notice of General Harrison whom I had known in my boyhood. Now it was that the idea first arose of some atonement to me in the shape of a diplomatic appointment. But within one hour of a most cordial meeting by his own special request, and express invitation, with the General, at the Presidential Mansion, he was taken ill; and, in one week from that time, I was at his funeral. The favorable disposition, however, was continued by President Tyler, who, after commissioning me during a few months for special service regarding an Indian investigation, in Washington, nominated me to the consulship at Tunis, on its being rendered vacant by a resignation. Mr. Polk was scarcely settled in the succession, when by Mr. Polk I was removed. One of the Cabinet of Mr. Polk—Mr. Marcy—orally, and in writing, declared to Mr. Clayton that I was removed exclusively on account of my political sentiments. He has also avowed—as the papers in the State Department will show—that, so far from there being any imputation of blame against me, he considered me entitled to a much better place than that from which I was ejected.

Under these circumstances I applied to Mr. Clayton for restoration to public employ. It was now rendered more than ever important to me, by my having been suddenly thrown, late in life,

out of an entirely new career, and in a manner which gave the coarse ejection an aspect of rebuke. I had been thrown out, also, nearly as soon as I had expended more than my office produced, to reach and to furnish my African abode. I only received from Mr. Clayton courtesy, and assurances of the kindest dispositions, in reply—which were kept up until the President disappeared from the world and Mr. Clayton and the Cabinet to which he belonged, from Washington. I have renewed my application, in the prescribed form, at the State Department, since the recent change. As it must come before you, Sir, I venture to put you in possession of such particulars connected with it, as may enable you to understand more thoroughly the reasons why I consider myself as having derived from events—not from any surpassing merits—a title to be remembered. Five years that I have lingered out in the hope of what I am now asking, cannot, you may readily conceive, have diminished the disastrous consequences of a dismissal which those who made it have acknowledged to be undeserved. I presume, therefore, to entreat that you will oblige me by recommending a decision upon my desire, as soon as it can be attended to without inconvenience either to yourself or to your justly eminent Secretary of State, in whose fairness and good feelings I have implicit confidence.

With every apology for giving you the trouble of reading so long a letter upon so small an affair to you—though to me so important—I beg you to believe me, my dear Sir, with profound respect,

Ever devotedly

Your friend and obedient servant,

JOHN HOWARD PAYNE.

For the President.

The foregoing letter, which it is believed has never before been published, states the facts regarding Payne's removal from office. Mr. Payne's predecessor as consul at Tunis was a Mr. Hodgson, who resigned. Before Hodgson, the Tunis consulate had been for some twenty years in the hands of a Dr. Heap, who was transferred elsewhere on Hodgson's appointment. Payne's application for reappointment was backed up by letters from many distinguished and influential men: William L. Marcy, Thomas Corwin, and Washington Irving among them. Mr. Payne was reappointed by Mr. Fillmore, returned to Tunis and died there.

The outrageous treatment to which Payne was subjected at the hands of a Georgia mob, is not mentioned, so far as we have ob-

served, in the biographies of the poet-politician. It had occurred in 1835—fifteen years before the date of Mr. Payne's letter, and it naturally provoked much comment at the time. The only atonement ever offered by the State of Georgia, was the passage of a resolution, by both branches of the Legislature, disapproving of the conduct of the guard that made the arrest.

ADVICE FROM MR. FILLMORE—In a collection of autographs, mostly notes of courtesy written at the request of Mr. Charles T. Rich, presented to the Buffalo Historical Society by Mr. G. Barrett Rich, Sr., occurs the following characteristic note from Millard Fillmore—written, it will be noted, long after his retirement from public life, when he was residing in the house on Niagara Square which was torn down in the summer of 1921:

BUFFALO, June 26, 1865.

Mr. CHARLES T. RICH,

SIR: I have your note requesting my autograph with a few lines.

You are young, and I am old. Permit me then to give a word of advice.

Place your standard high and endeavor to reach it. Be careful and acquire no bad habits, such as chewing or smoking or drinking, and remember that industry, honesty and perseverance lead to wealth, happiness and honor.

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The following, evidently in response to a request for Mr. Lincoln's autograph, is in the same collection, and is wholly in Mrs. Lincoln's hand:

CHICAGO, April 9, '66.

Mrs. MARY W. RICH,

DEAR MADAM: I regret, most sincerely, that I am unable to comply with your request, regarding the autograph of my deeply lamented husband. So many applications have been made, for the few that I possessed, that I find myself without any remaining. I wish it was in my power to gratify you.

I am, very respectfully,

MARY LINCOLN.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Relics with Stories.—In devoting a considerable part of this volume to the Historical Society museum, the editor's thought was that by making known the associations of this or that relic, its interest would be enhanced in the eyes of those who not only might see it, but who should read about it. At the best, a museum label can tell but little. Beginning with a few striking articles, the discovery was soon made that the museum is full of things which have—to use a current newspaper phrase—a "good story." Some of these stories have been told, we trust not without some measure of acceptability, in this volume. Very many more might be told.

Take, for instance, our flags. The Society possesses many, among them several Confederate flags, no two alike. The story of the capture of one of them is briefly given, by the man who captured it, in preceding pages. For the others, our data are imperfect. One of them was captured at Centerville, La., by Julius L. Knapp, drummer of Co. J., 116th Regiment, N. Y. S. Volunteers. It was presented to the Historical Society by Col. George M. Love, in command of the regiment. Another one, a silk Stars and Bars, was taken from a house near Raleigh, N. C., on April 15, 1865, by members of a Buffalo troop who were out foraging.

Still another was a trophy brought home by some of the men of Wiedrick's Battery, a well-remembered Buffalo organization of the Civil War, with a good record. The Society has only the following brief "story" of its capture, which may as well be preserved here:

"On Dec. 12, 1864, when the Battery was in position on the west bank of the Savannah river, about five miles north of the city of Savannah, during General Sherman's investment of that city, we saw three steamers coming down the river, presumably from Augusta, Ga. As soon as they came within range of our guns, we opened fire on them with shell, one of the boats replying with a rifle of very heavy calibre. The duel lasted nearly an hour, when the gunboat and one of the supply boats was compelled to retire up the river again. The other boat (which proved to be the *Resolute*) drifted on an island in the middle

of the river on which was a brigade of our Twentieth Corps, who took possession of her. Some of our boys rowed over after we had ceased firing, and they brought this flag—or streamer—with then and gave it to Lieut. Scott, who has had it in his possession ever since. We had disabled the steamer by shots into her machinery and paddle wheel."

Our record of still another one is still shorter. It was written over half a century ago, and the men who shared in the exploit have gone—but the flag is preserved:

"The silk 'Stars and Bars' was taken from a house near Raleigh, N. C., on April 15th, 1865, by some members of the Battery who were out foraging that day. It has been in the possession of Lieut. Scott ever since. He does not remember the names of either of the parties who gave him the flags, nor does any member of the Battery now living in this city, so far as known. Lieut. Scott also captured a Georgia State flag in a house in Louisville, Ga., but it was taken possession of by Capt. Winegar, then commanding the Battery."

A Good Soldier's Medals.—If we turn to another department, say, that of medals awarded for distinguished service, we come into another realm of good "stories." Consider, for example, two medals, each of which represents a gallant service, which recently came to the Society from the estate of Harriet W. Grant, relict of the late Dr. John H. Grant, Assistant State Commissioner of Agriculture in 1908, when the medals were awarded him by the War Department. At that time Dr. Grant was on the retired list, but under a Department order of 1905, he was entitled to what is known as the Civil War medal, and to the Indian Campaign medal, he being a veteran in both branches of the service. These meals are now exhibited in the Society's museum.

The Civil War medal, or badge, is about the size of a half dollar, being suspended from a pin by a ribbon of red, white and blue. The metal was formerly part of a brass cannon captured from the Confederate Army. On the obverse is a remarkably sharp bust of Lincoln in bas-relief, and around this bust is the famous inscription, "With Malice toward None, with Charity for All." Dr. Grant saw service in the Civil War as a member of the 61st Massachusetts Volunteers from June '64 to June '65. He was in engagements at Hatcher's Run, Petersburg and others of importance.

His Indian Campaign medal was gained by his service in the

Medical Department of the regular army in Indian Territory, 1874-'75, in the famous expedition led by General Miles. In size this is similar to the Civil War medal, the obverse bearing the figure of a mounted Indian, with spear poised, while on the reverse appears the inscription "United States Army, For Service." The metal is from cannon captured in the Mexican War. It is suspended from a pin by a red ribbon. With each medal is a small ribbon bar, one of red, white and blue for the Civil War and one of red for the Indian service medal, that may be worn in the lapel of the coat in lieu of the badge.

Dr. Grant completed this distinguished record by serving as assistant surgeon in the hospital at Fort McPherson during the Spanish-American War. About 1200 typhoid and malarial fever patients, and about 300 wounded soldiers from Cuba were treated in that institution.

The Jeannette's Mail Bag.—There are many curious things in this museum, and some of them suggest stories which we cannot tell, for lack of data. For instance, here is the last mail-bag from the *Jeannette*, before she was wrecked in the Arctic. The bag, which is of animal skin or tough membrane of some sort, was made by a native of Helena island. It was a gift to the Society in 1866 from Henry D. Richardson, of the Mare Island Navy Yard, Vallejo, Cal. The story of the *Jeannette* expedition is almost too familiar to call for a telling here. In 1879 James Gordon Bennett, of the *New York Herald* sent out an Arctic expedition from San Francisco in the steamer *Jeannette*, under command of Lieutenant DeLong, U. S. N. The *Jeannette* was early caught in the Arctic ice, drifted for nearly two years, and was finally wrecked. The crew embarked in two cutters and a whaleboat. Lieut. Danenhower and some of the crew finally reached New York, in May, 1882. The bodies of DeLong and his men were afterwards found in the snow, with evidences that all had perished from cold and hunger. This is not, we admit, the story of the last mail-bag sent out from the *Jeannette*, nor can we tell it; but it rather vividly recalls this Arctic tragedy.

Many Relics of Many Kinds.—Not to dwell on relics not associated with our local history, here are scores and hundreds of objects that recall some episode, or some building, or some individual of importance in the history of Buffalo. Consider, for instance, Mrs. Lovejoy's little cowhide-covered trunk. It recalls rather vividly Buffalo's greatest tragedy, in which Mrs.

Lovejoy's house, and her massacred body, were consumed by the flames. Belonging to the same period in our history, is the wheel of a wagon in which a prominent pioneer family fled from the burning town and the British and Indians who were burning it, that last day of December, 1813.

Here are relics of early days on the Lakes, some of them with a story; relics of later periods, such as the carriage in which Buffalo's first Mayor rode about the new-born city of 1832; the famous draft wheel of the Civil War; also, daintier souvenirs of many a Buffalo belle, in bygone days! We need not enumerate further to convince the reader that this unassuming but somewhat crowded local museum has an abundance of material that recalls the events of the past, and teaches, better than some books, the story of Buffalo's history.

The Perry Relics.—A word must be given to the numerous relics of the Battle of Lake Erie, and of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, which are of unfailing interest, especially to school boys who admire a hero. The associations of the gallant Perry and his men with Buffalo are intimate and should be kept alive.

In the Historical Society museum are preserved timbers from the flagship *Lawrence*, and the second flagship, the *Niagara*, of Perry's fleet; an arms chest of the *Lawrence*; and Commodore Perry's own wine case, a handsome mahogany brass-mounted case, containing a dozen cut-glass bottles. This was presented by Commodore Perry, after the battle of September 10, 1813, to one of his officers, Captain Daniel Dobbins; whose children, Mrs. James P. White, of Buffalo, and Col. John R. Dobbins, of San Gabriel, Cal., in 1892 presented the wine case and some other relics of the battle, to the Buffalo Historical Society. The wine case, and the arms chest, it is understood, were on board the *Lawrence* during the battle. This ship and the *Niagara*, were afterwards sunk in Erie bay. In 1876 the *Lawrence* was raised and sent to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia; at which time timbers from her hull were taken as souvenirs and many of them made into canes. Several "Perry canes" are in our collections. The fuller story of the Perry relics will be found in volume VIII of these Publications, in connection with "The Dobbins Papers."

A Presentation.—A pleasant incident of the year was a presentation of Civil War relics. On August 16th at the annual reunion of veterans of the 100th New York Volunteers, at G. A.

R. hall in Buffalo, members of the family of the late Capt. Lewis S. Payne, Co. D, later Lieutenant Colonel of the 100th, of North Tonawanda, presented to the 100th Regiment Veteran Association a number of articles, which had belonged to Col. Payne. Later, as had been agreed, these Civil War souvenirs were turned over to the Buffalo Historical Society for preservation. President Alfred Lyth, of the Association, designated Secretary Adam J. Wagner to make the presentation. Addressing the Secretary of the Historical Society, Comrade Wagner said, in part:

"We feel highly honored this afternoon for the privilege of presenting to you, as the representative of the Buffalo Historical Society, through the 100th Regiment N. Y. Veteran Association, these various historic articles donated to us by the family of Capt. (later Lieut. Col.) Lewis S. Payne, Co. D, 100th N. Y. Infantry, for that purpose. His record as a soldier and his reputation as a fearless scout on the islands around Charleston (S. C.) Harbor, have received due credit from the historians of the Civil War, and are known throughout the land; they need no comment from me.

"I have here a sword, carried by him when the regiment left Buffalo on March 7, 1862, all through the Peninsular campaign in Virginia, at Carolina City, North Carolina, St. Helena Island, Cole's, Folley and Morris Islands, and while on his daring scouting expeditions on the islands in and around Charleston harbor during 1863. Look at it, Comrades and friends! it will convince you of strenuous usage in service by the rough appearance of its scabbard. This is the gift of his son, Edward C. Payne, Albany, Alabama.

"Here is another sword, presented to the Captain by the citizens of North Tonawanda, also worn by him, which was sent to us from Col. Payne's great-grandson, George Alexander Newman, of North Carolina, to be kept in the Buffalo Historical Society.

"This is the tin plate on which the scant rations were served while a prisoner of war in Columbia (S. C.) jail, also the spoon, both of which were also used to dig a space around the chimney sufficiently large for prisoners to escape, and on the day before the plan was to be carried out, one man passed through, found it safe, and came back. Next morning the officials of the jail made a general inspection of the building, and noticing a quantity of fresh dirt around the chimney, upon further investigation discovered the manhole, and all the prisoners were ordered up on the second floor. You can all imagine the bitter disap-

pointment of these weak, half-starved prisoners. These things are the gift of a daughter, Mrs. McCray, of Buffalo.

"This tin cup and spoon he used in the Sisters' Hospital, where he was sent seriously wounded in the head, when captured with his brave crew, selected from his own company, at 'Payne's Dock'—so named after setting fire to and destroying the supply boat landing at Fort Wagner, in August, 1863. The Sisters took a special interest in him and after months of convalescing, and care, he regained his health and was sent to Columbia jail—a prisoner of war. These are donated by Mrs. Ida McCray, of Buffalo.

"Here is an old acquaintance, the Captain's sash. (We knew him, and loved him best as Captain.) We recognize it as we used to see it over his right shoulder, across his chest, then girding his waist and fastened at his left hip, from which the two tasseled ends were suspended! Isn't it beautiful, Comrades, that, after a lapse of 60 years, we are privileged to hold this in our hands, to give it to the Buffalo Historical Society as an object lesson in patriotism—to inspire and keep alive the things the Civil War represented more than we can express.

"The Captain did not use tobacco, but here is a pouch, made and filled with tobacco by the good Sisters of Charity, which they gave him when he was taken to Columbia jail from the hospital in Charleston. As a gift from those who, by constant care and attention, saved his life, he prized it very highly, while the tobacco it contained was doubtless relished by his fellow prisoners. This is from Edward C. Payne, his son.

"Here is another gem. Do you recognize it, boys? A soldier's 'housewife.' Remember how our sweethearts brought them to us at Camp Morgan before we went to the front? But this one was made by his loving wife and given him when he bade her and his children good-bye, leaving them to her care! Imagine this parting! Can you remember the many scenes like this incident in those trying days when the immortal Lincoln needed men? And in hundreds of thousands of cases it proved a last farewell! But he was preserved through the many dangers in camp, on the field of battle, the skirmish line and his daring exploits as a scout, and permitted once more to return to his loved ones and enjoy a peaceful life in a land he had helped to save. This is from Mrs. C. R. Stanley, a daughter, of North Tonawanda.

"Here we have a bound volume of newspapers from Charleston, which the captain collected while in Columbia prison,

printed on *real* newspaper, a very rare gift; sent us by Mr. Edward C. Payne, from Albany, Ala.

"But, Comrades and friends, here we have the Captain himself, in a frame, presented by Mrs. Ida McCray, of Porter Ave., Buffalo, his daughter. This picture was drawn, in prison garb, while in Columbia prison, by an artist, who was a fellow-Union prisoner there, and is an exact likeness of him when captured.

"And here are the spurs used by the Colonel, sent to us by Mr. George A. Newman, of North Carolina.

"When the regiment led the advance on Charleston, the latter part of March, 1863, Captain Payne at once assumed the role of a scout, and his part in that campaign, consisted mostly in that line of duty. He did some of the most wonderful things a man ever did. He seemed to have been built for the task. The confidence of his superior officers was so implicit that neither Maj. Gen. Q. A. Gillmore, Commander of the Department of the South, or the Commandant of the naval fleet outside of Charleston Harbor, would make a military movement until Captain Payne's judgment was first consulted. His capture proved an irreparable loss.

"I now hand you these sacred historic articles, and formally present them, through you, to the Buffalo Historical Society. Accept them, sir, in the same spirit of sacrifice in which he used them and were so sacredly kept all these years by his family, knowing they will be safely guarded in your keeping, as object lessons in patriotism and loyalty to our glorious country."

Before the First Niagara Bridge was Built.—It is of passing interest, in connection with Judge Hulett's story of the old Niagara basket, to read the following lines from the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* of Nov. 30, 1845, showing the effect of the bridge idea on the editor's imagination:

"Charles Ellet, Jr., Esq., a celebrated engineer of Philadelphia, in company with Major C. B. Stewart, an engineer of Rochester, has been examining the Niagara river, just below the Falls, for the purpose of deciding on the practicability of constructing a suspension bridge across the same. . . . There is a point, about a mile and a half below the cataract, and near the whirlpool, where the distance from one high bank to the other does not exceed 700 feet. The cost of a hanging bridge at that point, of sufficient strength to sustain the weight of a railroad train, or any other burden that may be placed upon it, and made in the best and securest manner, is estimated by Mr. Ellet at

$200,000. He offers to construct such bridge for that sum, and to subscribe $20,000 to its stock. . . . A suspension bridge across the Niagara river at the Falls, with a fiery locomotive and its long train of flying cars passing through the air, some 200 feet above the foaming stream, and, perchance, encircled with the rainbow of heaven, would be a magnificent sight!"

Fenian Days Recalled.—*Apropos* our Fenian flag, and the sketch of events of '66, in preceding pages, it may prove of interest to some inquiring soul in days to come, to state that the Historical Society preserves among its manuscripts the original applications for writs of *habeas corpus* in the cases of John O'Neill, John Hoy and Hugh Mooney, leaders of the raid; also the sworn testimony of Commander Bryson of the *Michigan*, who ordered their arrest; also the order of Justice George W. Clinton, of the Superior Court, remanding the prisoners to the custody of Commander Bryson. H. S. Cutting and Henry W. Box were counsel for the prisoners.

Our First School-House.—It has been generally understood by our local chroniclers, that Buffalo's first school-house was burned in December, 1813. The following from the *Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 5, 1850, gives it a somewhat different history. Referring to the lot at the southwest corner of Swan and Pearl streets, the paper says:

"The 'vacant lot' was wanted for some other purpose, and the school-house traveled on to the lot now [1850] occupied by the residence of Col. Blossom. It stood there a few years, when it was again obliged to take up the line of march, but as its identity was lost after leaving this position, it is believed that its progress thence was neither upward nor onward, but downward." Col. Blossom's house stood where St. Stephen's Hall now is. If enough of the first school-house escaped the burning of Buffalo to be moved across Erie street and put to use again, it has not, so far as we are aware, been shown heretofore.

Gifts in 1921.—The principal accessions and donors to the museum in 1921 were the following:

Adjutant General's Office, Albany. Service medal, World War.

Baecher, (*Mrs.*) C. Relics of the Chicago fire of 1871. Fused metal from bell of St. Louis R. C. Church, Buffalo, burned Mar. 25, 1885.

BAILEY, CHAS. H. Relics from Ft. Bull, N. Y.; old-style cabinet stereopticon; miscellaneous souvenirs.

BECK, RAPHAEL. Programme of Jenny Lind concert in Buffalo.

BEECHER, EDWARD L. Old powder-horn, Derringer and other relics.

BIRD, WELLS M. Maps.

BOELSEN, (*Mrs.*) EMMA. Portraits, Pan-American Expoosition souvenirs.

BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY. Victory Liberty Loan posters; Industrial Honor Flag, supplied by Treasury Dept., Washington.

BURTIS, (*Miss*) C. N. Souvenirs of Millard Fillmore and of Castle Inn.

CAMEHL, GEO. H. Specimens Bergholtz pottery.

CAMPBELL, (*Mrs.*) M. C. Folding field desk used by Col. J. Mappa.

COIT, WM. H. Framed receipt for sale of slave, 1844.

CUSICK, ALTON B. Sioux shield worn in the Battle of Little Big Horn.

ENGSTROM, (*Mrs.*) OSCAR A. Bronze medal.

FIELDS, SAM'L. J. Original drawings old N. Y. C. depot, Exchange st.

HERON, (*Miss*). Buddhist book.

HOME FOR THE FRIENDLESS. Oil portrait, Henry H. Hawkins.

HOTCHKISS, THOS. W. Sword, epaulets, commissions, spurs, etc., of Col. Jas. A. Jewell.

HOWARD, CHAS. F. (*M. D.*). Opera glasses loaned to and used in U. S. Navy during the Great War.

HOWLAND, HENRY R. Misc. souvenirs.

KELLER, (*Mrs.*) E. L. Framed photograph, Gen. Dan. Macauley.

LEWIS, JAS. V. Music and historical scrap-books.

LITTLEFIELD, (*Mrs.*), R. S. Two hand-operated sewing machines of early date.

MCCRAY, (*Mrs.*) G. W., and other children of Lieut. Col. Lewis S. Payne, 100th N. Y. Vols. Interesting collection of articles associated with his Civil War service.

MCCUTCHEON, (*Dr.*) GUY L. Historic rifle, relics of the Incas, etc.

MCDONALD, (*Mr. and Mrs.*) J. GRANT. Old French wine glasses; souvenirs from West Indies.

MCLEISCH, (*Mrs.*) A. Sword presented to Capt. A. McLeisch by Co. G., 74th Regt., N. G., N. Y., Feb., 1863; baton.

MANN, ELBERT B. Souvenirs of Gen. U. S. Grant, including autograph letter, photograph and lock of his hair.

MILLER, (*Mrs.*) EDWIN S. Gen. Bennet Riley's dress swords, epaulets, snuff-box, medals, etc.

PIERCE-ARROW MOTOR CAR CO. Medal.

PIERCE, R. W. Photographs.

PRATT, F. L. Desk made by Abner Cutler for his father, the late Pascal P. Pratt; filing cabinet; maps.

RICH, G. BARRETT. Autograph albums and souvenirs of celebrities.

SCHAMBER, CORY P. Souvenir war belt, his *croix de guerre*, and other relics of the Great War.

SCHOENLEIN, MORRIS H. Engrossed letter to President McKinley, a duplicate of the first letter mailed from the Buffalo Post Office (present building), Mch. 28, 1901.

SCHOTT, GEO. W. Plaster bas-relief of Capt. M. Wiedrick's battery in the Civil War, framed.

SIBLEY, FRANK. Musket used by his grandfather, Orrin Sibley, in Concord, N. Y; pictures, pistols, souvenirs of travel.

SILVER, D. M. Stone ax found in Cheektowaga.

SMITH, JAS. M. Badge, Niagara Frontier Police.

STRONG, (*Mrs.*) A. E. Framed engraving of Gettysburg battlefield.

ULLMAN, JOHN (*Jr.*). Model of warship *Collingwood*; Indian tomahawk.

UNKNOWN DONOR. Large old spinning-top.

WALKER, W. H. Saddle-bags.

WARREN, WM. Y. Tin bath-tub used in early days in family of Sheldon Thompson.

WELCOME HALL (*by Rev. W. E. McLennan*). Old sewing-machine.

WILGUS, L. W. Portrait, Tommy Jimmy, from oil painting by W. J. Wilgus, 1849.

WILLIAMS, ARTHUR H. Original subscription list for portrait of Hon. Joseph G. Masten, 1871.

WILLIAMS, (*Mrs.*) CHAS. T. Musket, belt, etc., of her father, H. D. Farwell, of the Union Continentals; door-plate of her grand-father, Loring Pierce.

WILLIAMS, JAS. M. Photos.

WILSON, (*Mrs.*) GEORGE. Old velocipede made by her father.

THE CHANGING TOWN

The most striking change in Buffalo in 1921, so far as the removal of buildings was concerned, was the clearing of the block bounded by Niagara Square, Delaware Avenue, Mohawk, Franklin and Genesee streets, for the erection of the new Statler Hotel. Interest in this property was heightened by the fact that it contained the house in which Millard Fillmore resided, after his retirement from the office of President of the United States, and in which he died, March 8, 1874. Here too the second Mrs. Fillmore died, Aug. 11, 1881. The house was built for James Hollister, about 1850, and was occupied by him until 1858, when Mr. Fillmore bought it. Before the Hollister house was built, an earlier house on that site was the home of Albert H. Tracy; it was moved down Niagara Street and became a parsonage of the Unitarian Society, occupied by Rev. George W. Hosmer. The appearance of the Hollister house at the time of Mr. Fillmore's death was substantially as shown in one of our pictures, which also shows the Merwin S. Hawley house at the right. After Mrs. Fillmore's death the house was converted into a hotel, and named Hotel Fillmore. As there was another Fillmore House in Buffalo, this led to confusion, and the name was changed, about the time of the Pan-American Exposition, to Castle Inn. The Hawley property was acquired and rebuilt, so that Castle Inn, from 1901 to 1921, had the appearance shown in another of our pictures. Miss Cornelia Burtis, proprietor, took the name "Castle Inn," from Stanley Weyman's novel of that name. The novelist's description was by no means inappropriate: "A long-fronted, stately mansion of brick, bosomed in trees, and jealous of its historic past." But Buffalo's Castle Inn was not exactly "bosomed in trees." In spite of some fine exhibitions of sentiment by local reporters, when the house was torn down, regarding the "Fillmore elms," the cold fact remains that there were no Fillmore elms. The only trees near the residence at the time of its demolition were small elms, six inches or so in diameter, which had been planted by the Park Department about 12 or 15 years ago to replace much finer trees that had gone. Several of these of recent planting were transferred to Delaware Park in 1921, with the laudable purpose of saving

them—but at last reports, they appeared determined to die. The only fine tree on the whole block was a large elm on Delaware near Mohawk, some distance beyond the Fillmore line. Two of our pictures, for which the Historical Society is indebted to the courtesy of Miss Burtis, show the hall and drawing room of Castle Inn as they appeared during her occupancy. Even then, there were but one or two articles remaining which had been Mr. Fillmore's, one of them an oval mirror. The marble mantles, which at the auction sale of effects, just before the house was torn down, were exploited with something of fictitious history, were not "brought by Mr. Fillmore from Italy," but were originally in the Hawley house, and were reset when the properties were merged by Miss Burtis. Among the many inaccuracies that were published about the Fillmore house, was the statement that John Quincy Adams had been a guest there. President Adams died in 1848, before the house was built. Among ex-President Fillmore's guests there however, was Mr Lincoln.

Numerous other properties, now included in the new hotel site, had associations with prominent Buffalo families. Adjoining the Hawley house on the east, was for many years the modest frame house where lived Hezekiah A. Salisbury, pioneer printer and publisher of Buffalo, and editor of Buffalo's first newspaper, The *Gazette*. In 1894 this site was built up with Bryant & Stratton's Business College, torn down in the spring of 1921 At the corner of Genesee and Franklin streets, Messrs. Green & Wicks built, about 1885, the apartments known as "The Anchorage." Both members of that firm resided there, with their families for a time, as did other well-known Buffalonians. The house at the corner of Franklin and Mohawk was at one time the home of Mr. Edward S. Hawley. On the south side of Mohawk,—No. 78, midway between Franklin and Delaware—was the home of Dr. William K. Scott, and for many years, until his death in 1911, the home and studio of Dr. Scott's son-in-law, Lars G. Sellstedt, perhaps Buffalo's best-known artist. There are still many citizens who cherish pleasant memories of Mr. Sellstedt's crowded but delightful studio in this old house. Its associations with the culture and social life of an earlier Buffalo are probably not exceeded by those of any house in this hotel site, not excepting even the Fillmore house itself.

Not far from Mr. Sellstedt, at 86 West Mohawk, lived for many years Dr. Lorenzo M. Kenyon, a highly-respected and successful physician.

The oldest house in this block for very many years, was at the southeast corner of Delaware Avenue and Mohawk Street. It was torn down two or three years ago. It was built in 1816, by Daniel Bristol, who had come to Buffalo in 1811, fled with his family when the village was burned, and then came back to help rebuild it. So far as known to the writer, there were no buildings in this block prior to the burning of Buffalo in December, 1813. Daniel Bristol's house, built a little more than two years after the destruction of the village, was the first in that neighborhood. In the decade of the '30's Mr. Bristol built, for his son, Cyrenius C., to the south of his garden, a cottage which was distinguished by a pillared portico. This cottage was torn down, when the block was cleared for the new hotel. C. C. Bristol was a druggist, long famous for his preparation of "Bristol's Sarsaparilla," and for the equally famous "Sarsaparilla Almanac" which he published annually for many years. Later occupants or owners of the Bristol cottage included Thomas C. Welch, father of the late Gen. Samuel M. Welch; a Mr. Groesbeck and family; Dr. Walter Kenyon; and Thomas J. Sizer, a well-known attorney. After his death in 1892 the property passed to his sister, Mrs. James D. G. Stevenson, and to her children.

Three fine old residences, of a style much in favor by the well-to-do in Buffalo three-quarters of a century ago, have recently disappeared, to be replaced by a hotel. They were known to older residents as the Movius, Laverack and Beals houses, on the west side of Delaware Avenue, north of Cary street. The corner house, former home of Julius Movius, was the first home of the Buffalo Club, which occupied it from the time of its organization in 1867, until January, 1870, when it moved to the James S. Ganson house, at Delaware and Chippewa streets. This latter house was torn down some years ago. The other houses, at Nos. 212 and 214 Delaware avenue, were respectively the homes of the families of William Laverack and Edward P. Beals, families of distinction in the business and social history of Buffalo

One of our pictures shows the Lyceum Theater on Washington street above Broadway, as it was originally built. It was remodeled, 1912-13, and torn down, 1921, the new Lafayette Theater and a ten-story office building replacing it and adjoining buildings to the south. The theater was originally styled the Grand Opera House, and was opened to the public September 19, 1887, with Lilian Olcott in "Theodora." A year or so

later it became the Corinne Lyceum, under the management of H. R. Jacobs, who for several years managed the Court Street Theater, predecessor of Shea's. "Little Corinne" was starred at the theater bearing her name, but with the passing years she had to give up the role of child prodigy. Even the "Corinne" was later dropped, under another management, and the house was best known, under the management of H. H. Eldred, as the Lyceum. Its decorations of blue and silver, with blue upholstery, are recalled. It was an attractive theater. An incident in its history was its condemnation as unsafe. This led to a thorough overhauling and considerable changes in the Washington street facade.

A change that stirs the memories of many a resident of Buffalo is the demolition of Asbury M. E. church at Pearl and Chippewa streets, to be replaced by business buildings. The structure recently torn down was erected 1870-'72, replacing an earlier one known as the Pearl Street Methodist church. No picture of that building has been found. If any reader of this page can supply one, the Historical Society would be pleased to hear from him.

The Asbury church organization was an offshoot of the Niagara Street M. E. church, the site of whose old home is now covered by the Masonic Temple. The society which later became the Asbury was organized in the Niagara Street church, March 22, 1847. The lot on the northwest corner of Pearl and Chippewa streets was bought from Harmon Pompelly for $2700. Adjoining property was later acquired from Thompson Hersee, who deeded it to Henry Howard, who in turn transferred it to the trustees of the church. The first church edifice on this site was first used for service, June 16, 1848, and dedicated under the ministration of Rev. Schuyler Seager, D.D., Sept. 23d of that year. In 1850, at the beginning of the pastorate of the Rev. Mr. Thomas, the name of the church was changed to Asbury Church, in honor of the famous Bishop of that name. In 1861 the addition to the original corner lot was taken over by the trustees. In October, the new edifice was projected. It was consecrated Dec. 22, 1872, by Bishop Jones. The cost of the building was $38,885.64; of the organ and furniture, $6155.37. For forty years the Society flourished, numbering over 400 members; but changing conditions brought decline. When built, the church edifice was in a fine residential district; now it is wholly business. In 1916 the Asbury Society consolidated with the Delaware Avenue M. E. Society at Delaware and Tupper

streets. For several years the old church has been used as a city mission. The sale of the property to the Peabody Holding Corporation is said to have been made at about $250,000.

The handsome house at No. 653 Main street, in recent years known as the Annex to Pierce's Invalids' Hotel, was torn down in 1921, for the erection of a business block. It was for many years the family home of Hon. William Williams. Mr. Williams came to Buffalo in 1839, and for some years engaged in banking, with White's Bank, and later with the Clinton Bank. In 1856 he became interested in railroads, and for some years held various positions with the organizations now merged in the Michigan Central and the Lake Shore division of the New York Central. In 1866 he was a member of Assembly, and in 1870 represented the 40th District in Congress. He died in 1876. The house was later the residence of Edward Michael, and still later of Dr. Ray V. Pierce.

The house at the northwest corner of Main and Tupper streets, for many years the home of Henry Martin, has been demolished and replaced by business buildings. It was one of the oldest houses in the neighborhood, a very well-built structure, erected when the region to the west of it was mostly open country. Its neighbors across Main street were the Judge Townsend (later the Wilson) residence, built 1826-'27, and the Rich house, built 1850. The Martin house was built, it is understood, earlier than the Rich house, and had undergone some changes. Mr. Martin is well remembered as a former president of the Manufacturers and Traders Bank.

The brick dwelling at the northeast corner of Allen and Franklin streets, known to the present generation as the Danforth house, has been torn down for the erection of a business block. It was built in 1852 by Samuel D. Flagg, wholesale grocer, then for many years a commission merchant, Mr. Flagg lost the house through foreclosure in 1858, and it was rented to S. V. R. Watson, who occupied it until 1879, when it was purchased by Frederick L. Danforth, who resided there until his death in 1897. It continued to be the home of Mrs. Danforth until her death in 1913. Since that time the premises have been rented to Dr. Thomas E. Soules. Until a few years ago the neighborhood was a quiet and desirable residential district and was pleasantly styled "Sleepy Hollow." It was found so attractive by the doctors that the block on Franklin from Virginia to Allen was dubbed "Pill Alley." A well-remembered controversy arose when the street railway company sought to get

its tracks through Allen street. Jacob F. Schoellkoff, whose large residence at Delaware and Allen is now a hotel, claimed title to Allen street, and with the assistance of neighbors, for a time successfully blocked the street railroad company. But early one fine Sunday morning the Sabbath quiet of the street was broken by a tremendous racket—hundreds of laborers were laying tracks. They worked all day Sunday, and as the courts were not in session no injunction could be secured. By Monday morning the Allen street cars were running. Now the effort is being made to put tracks through Franklin street, and the neighborhood becomes constantly more and more given over to business.

Another landmark which older Buffalonians miss, is the fine stone house on Porter avenue between Niagara and Seventh streets. It was built in 1835 by Hiram Pratt; and later was sold to Bela D. Coe, famous for his stage line across the State. In 1855 the property was acquired by A. Porter Thompson, and it continued to be the Thompson family home for 65 years. The grounds were originally of great extent and beauty. The property has been acquired by the city, and a schoolhouse built on it. The Thompson house always stirred the conductor-orator-guides on the "rubber-neck" sight-seeing vans, to one of their finest efforts. As their load of tourists rumbled by they were in the habit of crying out: "On your right, the oldest house in Buffalo! General Scott's headquarters in the War of 1812!"

A landmark of upper Main street, the Chapin-Jewett homestead at the southwest corner of Main and Jewett Parkway, has been torn down (Jan., 1922). It was a reminder of a time when a dwelling was really a "homestead." It was ample, and originally surrounded by farm lands. For many years it has been known as Willow Lawn. The original house on the site was built in 1807, of logs, by Daniel Chapin. His son, Col. William W. Chapin, about 1820, built the older part of the house recently torn down. For many years it was the home of Hon. Elam R. Jewett, who bought it, with the Chapin farm, in 1864. The farm originally included 450 acres, of which 200 acres is now included in Delaware Park, and 250 acres, laid out in streets and closely built up, is now part of the residential district known as Parkside. The Jewett homestead has been known for sixty years or so as Willow Lawn, taking its name from a great willow, said to have been planted by Col. Chapin, not far from the front entrance of the house. Our picture of the place was taken the day after the great tree was blown down, in a gale

of 1901. There were formerly two other large willows to the west of the house, and a well, with a sweep, near the present Jewett Parkway line. The street now known as Willow Lawn, runs through the former garden of the estate. A thrifty young willow, planted in the middle of this street, has grown from a cutting of the great tree on the lawn. One of the principal approaches to Delaware Park, for many years known as Jewett Avenue, is now renamed Jewett Parkway. Mr. Jewett died in 1887. After his widow's death, a few years later, the old residence had various occupants, finally passing into the hands of the Park School, which added numerous constructions. Finally, in 1921, the school removed and the buildings, including the old homestead, were demolished. The ample grounds for many years have been graced by large elms and other fine trees, which are probably doomed.

A few of our pictures are of memorials in Buffalo. The marker placed by the Buffalo Historical Society on the spot where President McKinley was shot, is pictured, and the simple ceremony of presentation is described, elsewhere in this volume. One of our pictures shows the striking memorial placed at the junction of Genesee street and Walden avenue, by residents of that neighborhood, in memory of young men from that district who gave their lives in the Great War.

One of Buffalo's soldier memorials, not hitherto illustrated in these Publications, is the large granite boulder in the grounds of Fort Porter, bearing a tablet with the following inscription: "To commemorate the gallantry of the officers and enlisted men of the Thirteenth Regiment, U. S. Infantry, in the campaign against Santiago de Cuba; first at San Juan Hill, July 1st, 1898, as they were first at Vicksburg, 1863. Erected by the citizens of Buffalo, 1899." The Thirteenth was so long stationed at Fort Porter and Fort Niagara, that very pleasant relations developed between the officers and enlisted men, and the citizens of Buffalo, so that, when it went to active duty in the Spanish-American war, its fortunes were followed with keenest interest, and it was regarded as virtually a Buffalo regiment.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In past years the membership of the Buffalo Historical Society has been classified as Patrons, Honorary, Corresponding, Life and Annual.

The class of Patrons was established for those who contribute $2,500 or more to the Society. There have been but two Patrons, Hon. James M. Smith and Mr. Andrew Langdon, both now deceased.

Honorary and Corresponding membership is occasionally conferred, by vote of the Board of Managers, on non-residents, usually for some special favor received or courtesy extended. These classes are purely complimentary and carry no obligation whatever. Most of the Corresponding members of the Society in past years have been officers of other historical societies in the United States and Canada.

Life membership is had on payment of $100. It entitles the holder (and family) to all the privileges of the institution, including the Publications, free. Life membership ceases on the death of the holder, and does not pass to the family.

Annual membership costs $5.00 a year, and entitles the holder to all the privileges of the Society, and to the Publications for every year for which the membership fee is paid.

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PICTURES

OF THE

CHANGING TOWN

THE MILLARD FILLMORE AND M. S. HAWLEY RESIDENCES, NIAGARA SQUARE.
As they appeared before being remodeled into Castle Inn.

CASTLE INN, NIAGARA SQUARE, AS IT APPEARED JUST BEFORE BEING TORN DOWN, 1921.

HALL IN THE FILLMORE HOUSE, WHEN IT WAS KNOWN AS CASTLE INN.

DRAWING ROOM IN THE FORMER FILLMORE HOUSE AFTER IT BECAME CASTLE INN.

THE NEW STATLER HOTEL SITE: OLD BUILDINGS AT FRANKLIN AND GENESEE STREETS, CLEARED AWAY, 1921.

FLAGG-DANFORTH HOUSE, NO. 55 ALLEN STREET.
TORN DOWN, 1921.

BRISTOL COTTAGE, DELAWARE AVENUE.
TORN DOWN, 1921. SITE COVERED BY NEW STATLER HOTEL

THE SCOTT-SELLSTEDT HOUSE, NO. 78 WEST MOHAWK STREET.
UNTIL HIS DEATH IN 1911, THE HOME AND STUDIO OF DR. SCOTT'S SON-IN-LAW, LARS G. SELLSTEDT.
TORN DOWN, 1921. SITE OF NEW STATLER HOTEL.

LARS G. SELLSTEDT'S STUDIO AT NO. 78 WEST MOHAWK STREET.
SITE OF NEW STATLER HOTEL.

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Replaced, 1921-22, by a hotel.

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Replaced by a business block, 1921.

ASBURY M. E. CHURCH, PEARL AND CHIPPEWA STREETS.
TORN DOWN, FOR ERECTION OF BUSINESS BLOCK, 1921-22.

THE LYCEUM THEATER AS ORIGINALLY BUILT.
REMODELED, 1912-13. TORN DOWN, 1921.

THE A. PORTER THOMPSON RESIDENCE, PORTER AVENUE.

Built 1835, by Hiram Pratt; sold to Bela D. Coe; Home of A. Porter Thompson and family, 1855-1920.
Torn down, 1921.

WILLOW LAWN, THE CHAPIN-JEWETT HOMESTEAD, 2364 MAIN STREET.
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